The
COMMONWEAL
A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs
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Progress in Agricultural Science

IT HAS PROBABLY ESCAPED the urban dweller along the Eastern seaboard that the great farm lands of the West are producing an increasing variety of foods and fodders. He has probably heard of "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma and the legendary Senator Sorghum. There has been considerable publicity about Henry Ford's interest in soy beans. Still many an Easterner thinks of crops out West in terms of barley, corn, rye, wheat and oats. Yet there is such a grass as lespedeza, or "poor man's clover," which in the State of Missouri alone is growing on 4,000,000 acres. This amazing crop, which has been introduced in large quantities in Kansas too, has shown that it will grow on poorer soils which would otherwise require expensive treatment. Cattle can graze on it or it can be cut for hay or seed. In short rotation with small grains such as barley, wheat or oats it makes possible two crops a year from the same field. And lespedeza reseeds itself annually, thereby making plowing an unnecessary expense. Agricultural experiment stations in various sectors of the land continue to show the American farmer how to increase the productiveness of his fields at the very time he is increasingly hard put to dispose of what he is able to produce already. At least until human material needs in this country and overseas are adequately supplied, such increasing productivity should be a welcome blessing. But it is one more indication of our inability to utilize the great scientific advances of our age for the well-being of society.

Lespedeza and Crop Surpluses

U. S. Navy Orders Argentine "Bully Beef"

THE PURCHASE of 48,000 pounds of canned corned beef from the government-subsidized Argentine Meat Producers Cooperative raised such a storm of interested protest that the President felt called upon to discuss it at length at two press conferences. On the first occasion he confirmed the report that the arrangement had been made; he justified it on the grounds that it cost less than half as much and that American cows did not produce as good beef as Argentine cows. This affront to national pride was somewhat softened at the second conference, when Mr. Roosevelt explained that up here we eat our best beef fresh. This did not still the agitation from Far West congressmen who were trying to secure legislation to prevent similar orders in the future. Business interests here are eager for a larger share of South American markets without being sufficiently willing to supply purchasing power for our goods by buying South American products. The problem of poverty and international security will never be met so long as there is no healthy interchange of goods between the nations. At 10 cents a pound, this order and subsequent orders will not amount to much in dollars and cents. It is quite obvious that for all the virtues of Argentine canned corned beef, this purchase was primarily a gesture of good will. It was, in fact, accepted as such by the Argentine Foreign Minister. Curiously enough it was followed immediately by a government-sponsored plan to increase our shipments of automobiles.

Must We Always Buy American?

Another "Mercy Killer" Freed

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM deriving from the type of crime generally called "mercy killing" is accelerating. Aside from the spiritual and the essentially moral features of these deeds, that is, aside from the fact that they violate an absolute prohibition laid by God upon man, there are other dangerous practical features which manifest themselves more and

Society's Problem

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more clearly as "mercy killings" increase. With each legal condonation of them (favored at least implicitly by a large part of the press), the barrier against them in the general mind is weakened, and it becomes by that degree more likely that other killings will be perpetrated, and that the range over which they are felt to be allowable or even praiseworthy will increase. Most Christians, including all Catholics, have always opposed "mercy killings" on the basis of the divine law which forbids murder, and which draws merit out of suffering; and they have from the beginning mingled with this opposition a warning to society of the grave practical danger it courted in condoning this taking of the most solemn enactment on the statute books into private hands. This warning begins to be realized, and there is every prospect that things will become worse instead of better.

The latest case to come before the State of New York is that of a man who deliberately put to death his sixteen-year-old son and was thereafter acquitted by a trial jury, although even the usual extenuations were absent. The boy was afflicted with imbecility—not in itself a disease involving the excruciating pain which sometimes unsettles the onlooker's moral balance. The alleged danger of his presence in the home might have been dealt with very simply, as it is dealt with in countless other cases: by his removal to a public or private institution designed for the care of such deficients. This applies also to the alleged fact, to which most weight was given in the defense, that the father's judgment had been rendered irresponsible by the accumulation of years of anxiety over the domestic situation. To us it seems symptomatic of a very grave disturbance in the public moral sense that the perpetrator of this deed was sent back to the full liberty of blameless citizenship by a jury of his peers.

Japan Keeps on Bombing

The Beauties of Modern War

IT IS SAID that the recent and continuing bombing of Chungking by Japanese planes is the most murderous and devastating in history; one cannot pass it over in silence. On various occasions mission, diplomatic and purely civil buildings—ironically enough, the German consulate among them—have been seriously damaged and European nationals slaughtered as well as countless Chinese. The British have protested; the American Ambassador has protested. All news dispatches agree that these bombings were "deliberate, ruthless attempts to destroy, burn and terrorize the civilian, cultural and business areas" of the new nationalist capital. So far Japan's only reply by a foreign office spokesman has been: "A state of war exists between Japan and China, and Japan was within her rights as a belligerent in bombing Chungking." Leaving to one side the question of whether belligerent rights include the ruthless bombing of non-military objectives, and to that proposition we take emphatic objection, there is a question of Japanese strategy involved in that statement. It is the first official recognition that the "Chinese incident" is a war. One cannot help wondering whether this admission was not made in the hope of cutting off American aid to China. And one also cannot help noticing how punctilious the Japanese government has been in its dealings with the United States the last few months. The press carries rumors of the hasty departure of a Japanese military attaché from Moscow, bearing dispatches too important to be carried except on his person. Does Japan continue to find the axis as comfortable as she thought she would? In time of war, England and the United States are far more important to Japan than any nation in continental Europe. And the Japanese are not likely to delude themselves for long that they are "Aryans." Yet all this speculation does not bring back to life a single Chinese civilian, and the conscience of mankind must still be shocked at what we are callously informed is the mere exercise of a belligerent "right."

The Reunion of Methodisms

The Civil War Is Ending

THE RECENT consummation of reunion in American Methodism between the three Methodist churches—Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South and Methodist Protestant—certainly must concern and interest every American Christian. Protestantism has always suffered from a centrifugal tendency which has led to its seemingly endless multiplication of sects. A reverse tendency seems to be setting in; we have had a "united church" in Canada, now the united Methodist Church in the United States. The *Christian Century* points out that the opening communion service of the Uniting Conference in Kansas City was held in the Episcopal Cathedral. There are many things which helped to make this achievement more possible among Methodists than it would be among some others of the main Protestant denominational divisions. Differences between the Wesleyans have almost entirely centered on matters of discipline and on the race and slavery questions, rather than on dogmatic divergencies. In the same way, Wesleyanism differs so little doctrinally from Low Church Anglicanism that a reunion there would be quite possible; only the fear that it would never be accepted by the High Church party seems to stand as a barrier. But what is the significance of the new united church for the rest of us, and for Catholics in particular? For one thing it signifies that the Civil War is really beginning to be over

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in men's hearts as well as on the battlefield, and the fact that this issue has taken so long to die down offers another argument—if any other is needed—against ever taking up arms lightly. For Catholics it seems to us the result is happy. If we would convince our fellow Christians of Catholic truth, it is probably a help to be concerned with a few large groups rather than with a host of small ones, all differing with each other. And if, as seems true, the prime enemy of our day is secularism, the divorce of the divine and spiritual from human life, certainly anything which strengthens the front against that enemy is good, even if it is not the perfect good.

Austrian "Church Wealth" Threatened

NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME the New York *Times* registers front-page concern over the fate of the Catholic Church in Austria. A report on May 13 tells that the Nazi party has asserted the right to pass on candidates for theological schools or religious orders. It also points to the fact that the National Socialist régime has been gradually swallowing Church property. We would like to see this attitude generalized in our secular America, and in the New York *Times* itself. We would like our papers to analyze carefully just what the "enormous wealth of the Catholic Church in Austria" and elsewhere consists of, and what function it performs. As it is, when the property is situated in Germany, it is rightfully recognized as socially useful, an endowment of the people of the country, a balance to the secular totalitarianism of the state, armament against tyranny, a protection against spiritual and physical exploitation, an expression of the freedom of the people. That is true in like overwhelming degree in "liberal" countries too, we should like also to point out. The secularization of which Church robbery is one phase, is a major force working not only for the destruction of religion but also directly for the establishment of government tyranny. People who accept one tyrannous government while opposing another must choose their arguments carefully. A long view of affairs tends to show they are careless to accept any tyranny at all, excused by whatever specious argument.

Concern in America

New Styles in Drinking

TWO OF THOSE GREAT nurseries of Europe which impose on their charges seemingly every element of childhood except the fun are simultaneously engaged in deciding what those charges shall drink—or not drink. In Italy, coffee is to be supplanted altogether by "energetic autarchic drinks." These turn out to be wine, which was drunk in Italy before autarchy was ever heard of; lemonade and orangeade, which it is hard to imagine Italians drinking, even when these beverages are served "in truly imperial style" (a phrase from the official press); and herb distillations, to imagine them drinking which takes very good imagination indeed. In Russia, more champagne and better beer are to be manufactured: the champagne, which is being touted as "a cultural drink," to give those with real money something to spend it on, since most of the mere staple commodities are unobtainable in that most boastful of planned societies; the beer to give all the others a cheap and acceptable substitute for vodka. In some respects at least in this matter the Soviets seem to be one up on the Fascists; it is nicer to drink good beer than vodka, and much nicer to drink champagne than to go without coffee. But once that is said, there is little to choose between the two dictatorships in the article of consistency. One Italian paper, defending the coffee ban, points out that the 150 millions of golden lire exported annually for coffee might be used more advantageously "to acquire raw materials with which to construct airplanes, cannon and cruisers." Of course we are familiar with this "guns before butter" argument; but no amount of familiarity can prepare us for its being broadcast at the identical moment when Il Duce is making his manifesto for peace. The two consort strangely indeed. And even more deeply strange is the Russian development. "A cultural drink"—product of a tradition and a social group which the Revolution is dedicated to obliterating. An upper-bracket-income class in the non-profit-making and classless earthly paradise. A paucity of plain necessities, coupled with a stepped-up production of luxuries, flowering from those distillations of economic wisdom, the Five-Year Plans. The nurseries are weird places indeed—though perhaps no weirder than those outside them who yearn toward them as the hope of the world.

Herbs and Champagne

The Trend Toward Youth

A MAGAZINE called *Youth Today* has taken a poll of Congress to discover the sentiment for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18. Of the legislators participating, 27 percent were opposed and 31 percent favorable. (The others withheld their opinions on it.) The principal point made by the proponents was that if youths of 18 are old enough to be drafted for war, they should be given some voice in deciding whether there should be a war. We liked best Senator Frazier's reaction to this proposition: "I agree that if the 18-year-old men are eligible to fight our wars, they should be eligible to vote, but I am absolutely opposed to agreeing that they should be eligible for war

Voting Age 18

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at 18." There are more points than that important one that could be brought up. It is an irony that as there are fewer young people in the country and in the world and increasing birth control propaganda against the appearance of young people, there should grow up greater deference to the young and an almost hysterical stimulation of "youth movements." Also, while the period of education is being lengthened and its principles and methods more hotly debated than for a long time, its fundamental idea that characters can develop and grow sounder is denied by those wanting to entrust the country's destiny increasingly to the unformed and presumably still educatable. No doubt each citizen should become a voter when he reaches approximately his prime, and should be stricken off the rolls when he begins to go dangerously down hill, but such personal attention is hardly practical. Probably few Americans of 17 would hope that they would stop improving politically at their next birthday. Most of the more aged voters would trade the franchise for some of the fresher privileges and capabilities of young people 18 to 21 if a deal could be made. The toga of citizenship is not necessarily the costume of gaiety.

The Near East Reorganized

THE AGREEMENT between Turkey and England is probably only as strong as the Turkish government's estimation of the British navy. There is little reason for Turkey to worry about England's willingness to use whatever power she has in case of any threat to the established organization of the Eastern Mediterranean. No matter what alliances should form in case of war, no matter what status Russia would have, The Dardanelles would still be essential to Britain. The seriousness of England's purpose in the Near East is now reemphasized by a new White Paper on Palestine, presenting the imperial government's "final" policy. On the basis of race and nationalism—including Zionism—there can be no satisfactory solution to the Palestine issue. The new decision, by frankly stating that ten years from now England may still be undecided about what to do with the Holy Land, that she will continue to act as "circumstances require," probably really is final. Although the Arabs greeted the publication of the new plan with bitterness, it is still regarded as a a decision against the Jews. Jewish immigration into Palestine is restricted to 75,000 for the next three years, and the population there is to be stabilized at one-third Jewish, two-thirds Arab, with whatever local government is allowed divided on that basis. With the rioting and external threats to empire life-lines it doesn't look as though there would be much local self-government anyway. One addition to the plan the British Empire could well make would be a program for the settlement of refugee Jews in other territories of the globe slightly more attractive in prospect than the unknown jungles of Guiana.

"Final" Policy

Alarm and Counter-Alarm

A CONVENTION has just been held in New York of the P. E. N., the International Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors and Novelists. The P. E. N. is not one of the leftist organizations of writers; in New York it is more like a regular club, recruited on a professional basis from the more attractive and well situated in the profession. Jules Romains of France is the international president; Dorothy Thompson president in New York; Thomas Mann perhaps the star member. The theme of the three-day convention was the "basic freedoms," and the sentiment of the meeting was that the world's intellectuals must do something about them.

Members, or at least most speakers of the P. E. N., looked upon themselves and spoke of themselves as "the intellectuals." In rather paradoxical fashion, at the same time that they were blasting away at the ivory tower and proclaiming their political responsibilities and obligation for political action, they were building up their own group as a special and so-defined intellectual fraternity, separated and recognizable by the nature of things. Stray quotations from speakers can hint at the sort of self-consciousness that characterized the meetings. The eloquent Miss Thompson said—in her increasingly prophetic style: "No political creed and no common philosophy unites us . . . The defense of the word unites us. We are one in our common fight against all who would debase the word. We are united against the destruction of the poet." And the *Times* reported: "Miss Thompson said that the world crisis of the last eight years had created a greater unity of purpose among the writers of the world." Lin Yutang, the Chinese writer who took a most important part in the proceedings, gave a clear indication of what *esprit de corps* these intellectuals were tending toward—the spirit of a kind of Mandarin class, defined by its function of writing. "I believe that today, if the writers as a class had more direct political influence and commanded a more general respect for their opinion, the world would be better off." J. B. Priestley, speaking by radio from England, inclined the same way: "People are beginning to feel that we authors are more to be trusted than others because we have no axes to grind." The *Herald Tribune* reports a most clear, if indirect, expression of the separateness of writers and their self-sustaining class character:

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"Klaus Mann, son of Thomas Mann, co-author with his sister, Erika, of 'Escape to Life,' said that Hitler hated the intellectuals much more than he did the Jews, Catholics and President Roosevelt"—the intellectual class; the Jewish class; the Catholic class; the Roosevelt class.

It hardly need be said that the intellectuals found their autonomous purpose to consist of opposition to Hitler, the saving of mankind from the threat of "a new barbarism." President Romains declared at the beginning: "The present task of the writer must be solely to call to the attention of every man and woman the unprecedented perils which today assail civilization, peace, liberty and the dignity of the human person . . . It would require on our part more than a pharisaical hypocrisy to refuse to see from what side comes the supreme danger, on which side is the evil."

Hendrik Willem Van Loon was reported to have opened the meeting dealing directly with the ivory tower "by taking issue with the isolationist point of view in the United States and to have declared that the fight with the totalitarian state was based on differences within the realm of the spirit as it affected politics." The major portion of this statement would seem to be the connective: the truth of the statement about totalitarianism is incontestable, but what Mr. Van Loon means by the opposite of isolationism has never appeared to be exclusively a spiritual or merely political cooperation. We are carried along further by the report: "Pedro Salinas, Spanish writer, suggested that culture should assume a militant attitude in self defense."

However many private, and even spoken, reservations there were, the undoubtedly dominant "sense" of the P. E. N. meeting was that the intellectuals form a class as such and that they should bend all efforts to fight Nazi-fascism along the lines of national self-defense.

At the last meeting of the organization, a very interesting and good dinner at the Plaza, Mr. Carl Van Doren read a short paper that seemed to be passed over most lightly. He said: "It is time for the writers of the world to consider what words mean when we now say, as they say every day in a thousand places, that a new barbarism threatens mankind. . . . Mankind has always been under the living threat of barbarism, as it is among contemporaries. War has always threatened peace. Anger has always threatened good will. Cruelty has always threatened humanity. Passion has always threatened wisdom." This call to proportions, to coolness, to objective analysis made little impression in the immediate cry of alarm. This very widely read group of writers, and the editors, publishers and agents grouped together as intellectuals, are justified in their alarm about Hitler no doubt, but the ordinary citizen is justified in feeling an almost equal alarm over their apparent reaction and what can be seen behind it. The thing behind it is war, and no new and pure kind of war, preserving with the sword of Galahad "the great human values" which the writers talk about in general terms.

Intellectuals are committing the same old treason, both the intellectuals further left who do not believe in this independent Mandarin class of the democracies but give their service to the practical masters of Marxism, and the intellectuals of the widening and coalescing center who find it impossible to maintain a footing up in the sky and come to earth in a position well prepared by political and economic doers. So also the really fascist writers of the right. In trying to find means proportionate to the end of "stopping barbarism," the diligent searcher must look elsewhere than to the dominant self-proclaimed intellectuals.

Warnings were not altogether lacking in the P. E. N. sessions. Besides Carl Van Doren, Nora Waln, the Quaker writer, André Maurois, the practical man of letters, Vera Micheles Dean, of the Foreign Policy Association and perhaps others could be added to those whom reporters noted dampened the militaristic ardor of the Hitler haters. But the solution roughly presented to the public was that of a united front war of defense. Juan Negrin was there to stir up emotions. The picture of mobilized colleagues watching in the forts at the democracies' frontiers was brought vividly to diners' imaginations, with no complementary word picture added about what was or was not taking place behind the tragic "front." The Pope's rumored (and since denied) moves toward a conference were thrust aside as preparations for another "cannibal feast of Munich." Writers were actually told to forget their interest in the internal politics of their own countries and aid and support those statesmen who appear aware of "the peril."

A war of England, France and their allies against Germany and Italy and their allies is not a means proportionate to the end of stopping the barbarism that threatens mankind. The intellectuals who drum that up place themselves in the camp of barbarism—or among the camp followers of barbarism. We would like to see them write a more adequate description of "barbarism," a clearer definition of the "basic freedoms," and a fuller census of the forces fighting on both sides. No one has yet shown us the gun, gas or flame that destroys barbarism and fertilizes the fields of virtue. No country has yet attempted the heroic measures alternative to war that can be tried to dispel our present evils. No one has yet given the people proof that the evils of the only possible war will disperse still greater evils. All the ability and inspiration of poets, playwrights, essayists, editors and novelists would indeed be strained to do that.

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Marx Evaluates Labor

The Marxian emphasis on the economic importance and value of labor has real validity.

By **Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.**

THE SHREWDNESS of Marx and Lenin and their followers has frequently been overlooked by men who comment upon results rather than upon causes. They do not realize that the present "transitional" period of violence and dictatorship—and we must not forget that such is still the state of affairs in Russia—was carefully planned by Marx and executed by Lenin and Stalin. The plan encompasses labor and living, capital and politics, in fact, all the facets of individual and public life into which totalitarian régimes delve.

In 1932 Maxim Gorky, attempting to excuse the continual Russian turmoil, declared that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a temporary phenomenon, which is indispensable for the re-education of tens of millions of people who were formerly the slaves of nature and of the bourgeois state and for making them the sole masters of their country and of its vast resources." In other words, he was simply stating what Upton Sinclair recently repeated in his debate with Eugene Lyons. "They planned it that way." Misery, starvation and the death of millions were regrettable of course, but the march of the plan could not be halted. The plan that led to the dictatorship of the proletariat was fundamentally an idea in the head of Karl Marx.

Never for a hesitant moment must we think that the things happening in the Soviet are the mere caprices of mad men. As Gorky said, "Karl Marx was a very wise man, but it should not be imagined that he came into the world as Minerva sprang out of the head of Jupiter. No, his theory is another case of genius perfecting a scientific experiment, as were also the theories of Newton and Darwin in their day. Lenin is much plainer than Marx, and not less wise a teacher." It is a delightful surprise to learn that Marx was a wise man, especially after one has been studying and searching his writings for years to find some proof of that wisdom. If shrewdness be wisdom, then Marx was a wise man.

But there is, indeed, aside from what Gorky and other apologists may declare, a certain grain of wisdom in Marx. It is his insistence on the economic value of labor, a point which I think the most important in the many pages of his writings. I do not mean that he attempted to dignify labor; perhaps he ultimately intended to do so, but assuredly his successors did not achieve that end. More than anyone else in the history of the world, Marx belabored the idea of work, and through his emphasis on the idea that work alone makes a product valuable, he has made the workers of the world conscious of the monetary value of their labor. He gave it an economic value understandable to the commonest laboring man, and by teaching that the value of a commodity equals the amount of labor used in its production, he gave the laborer an inkling of the really important part he had been playing in the industrial production of wealth.

In general we opponents of Marxism are, I think, too quick to condemn Marx's theory of value, not considering sufficiently that it has had on the whole a remarkably beneficent effect. Because we can disprove easily his statement that "all commodities, as values, are realized human labor," we seem to condone the topheaviness of a capitalistic system tending always to the opposite extreme.

Money vs. labor as value

As a matter of experience, although we subconsciously know that human labor is the most important of the value-giving factors in commodities, we act always as though money alone renders commodities commensurable. Most of us consistently judge an article of merchandise by its price tag, provided that the price is within the limits of some vague range which mysteriously appears in our mind when we judge an object's value. That price range depends to a great extent upon our manner of living, our ability to pay well or poorly, our usual habit of purchasing lavishly or economically. We are then selfishly materialistic when we weigh the *quid pro quo* in the buying and selling of goods and, though we realize dimly that labor *is* the largest value-factor in almost all products, we allow an abundance of other considerations to smother that realization.

Karl Marx, on the other hand, became almost devoutly spiritual in meditating on the presence of labor-time in the things we buy and use. He believed that money has its use, but that its use should be restricted to a handy expression of the real value of objects. "Money, as a measure of

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value," he said, "is the phenomenal form that must of necessity be assumed by that measure of value which is immanent in commodities, labor-time."

Condemned rightly as a rank materialist in his philosophical vagaries, Marx is here, in the most prosaic science of economics, a potent dualist. He frequently uses terms such as, "Under the ideal measure of values there lurks the hard cash. . . ." and, "If we abstract from the material substance . . ." In Marx's main concept, labor-power, is a potency which must be reduced to action. Its first importance is the fact that it is a universal spiritualized thing, and then it becomes particularized only as a secondary process. It "becomes a reality only by its exercise; it sets itself in action only by working." If the powerful mind of Marx had been trained in the metaphysics of the schoolmen, his contribution to economic thought would have avoided the pitfalls into which it stumbled, and would today be invaluable.

Trying desperately to find some constant factor in the production and distribution of commodities, Marx hit upon labor-time as the most plausible. In the second volume of *Capital,* he devotes some pages to this problem, illustrating it with practical examples, as he very aptly does all the problems he treats. He points out that "socially necessary labor," that is, labor of every kind that goes into a commodity, is represented by both the commodity itself and the price asked for it. Thus, if two equal quantities of socially necessary labor are represented respectively by one quarter of wheat and two pounds sterling of money, these two latter are equal to each other. But the difficulty is that while the quarter of wheat remains the same, and the amount of labor remains constant, there is a frequent price fluctuation. Circumstances sometimes allow the price to change to three pounds, and at other times may compel its reduction to one pound. "If the productive power of labor remain constant," argued Marx, "the same amount of social labor-time must, both before and after the change in price, be expended in the reproduction of a quarter of wheat." But the theory of labor value evolved by Marx has not solved the problem; it is one which probably will never find an adequate solution.

The kernel of truth in Marx's theory was reached by prescinding from all the variable notes in products and arriving ultimately at one note common to them all. Finding this note, labor-time, he made the common mistake of all extremists by overemphasizing it until the other factors of value were completely submerged. These others are mutative, and he was looking for a constant. He noted that rarity makes objects valuable, that fashion influences the fluctuating demand for certain goods, thus lowering or raising their value. But these things he discounted because they are immeasurable, and because he thought they should not exist in a well-ordered society. Above all, the aspect Marx found most distasteful is the fact that there exists in all commodities a certain "surplus-value"—that is, the unearned profit accumulating in the hands of the capitalist. Of all notes to be abstracted from the finished product this was the first to go.

Labor-power as value

The philosophical investigator then found that in each of the products he mentioned there remained but one common note. "It consists of the same unsubstantial reality in each, a mere congelation of homogeneous human labor, of labor-power expended without regard to the mode of its expenditure." There were objectors to Marx then, as there are now, who argued that if the value of a commodity is measured by the amount of labor spent on it, the product of a slow and slipshod worker would be more valuable than that of an energetic and skilful man, simply because it took longer to make.

In answering this obvious objection Marx again became metaphysical, and by his very answer showed definitely that his own theory was impracticable. He said: "The labor that forms the substance of value is homogeneous human labor, expenditure of one uniform labor-power. The total labor-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor-power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units." How this mass is to be broken down for purposes of scientific measurement still remains a mystery.

Up to a certain point the careful analysis by which Marx's theory is supported is excellent. We cannot insist too strongly that he has done an immense amount of good in making the world conscious of the economic worth of labor. When he says that capitalist society is characterized by the fact that the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him, we agreeably go along with him, and cry it down as loudly as he. But we part company when he says that no factor but labor-power counts in the value of goods, in the first place because it is incorrect and therefore unprovable, and in the second place because even if it were correct the notion of abstract labor *in toto* is too tenuous ever to be practically applicable.

The correct statement of labor's position in production (and distribution) surely is not that labor can be termed the only value-giving factor, but rather that it has never been estimated sufficiently highly among the contributing factors, and that the others, many of them parasitic in nature, have been estimated too highly. This false unbalance has been maintained by the chicanery of finance-capitalism, with the result that labor con-

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tinues to receive only driblets from the rivers of wealth it creates.

The question of most importance to many people is that of the just price for a commodity. Marx's method of pricing has long ago been disproved, and it is merely bludgeoning the obvious to offer an argument for a principle that has fallen down all along the line. But such reasoning does not by any means demonstrate that the matter of price has been settled; indeed it has never been settled, except occasionally as a temporary expedient. That is above and beyond the one thing we are discussing here, the one root which Marx has driven deep into the soil of modern economic thought. It is not a matter of how much in dollars and cents the workingman should receive from the final cost of his product; it is rather the conviction that human labor of every form is the most important contribution to the production of goods. From this, of course, the correct and true conclusion to be drawn is the consideration that labor-time, labor-power, or whatever term is used to designate man's part in production, is also of very great economic value.

Not every "goods" we choose to use as an illustration will serve as an apt explanation of this truth. There are certain consumptive goods, such as rainbows, mountain breezes, a friend's letter, all of which are of great value, but which have no value in exchange, and cannot be measured in terms of money. There are other objects, such as an amethyst, an Egyptian papyrus, a painting by Velásquez, all very valuable because of rarity rather than on account of labor.

In the realm of more common commodities with which most men are familiar, an investigation of the production process will show the large percentage of labor involved. In a brick building, for example, all the actual putting-together of parts is done by manual labor, and practically all the parts themselves were made by human labor. In agriculture too, despite the advance of mechanization, the greatest part of the measurable value of products is contributed by human labor. After leaving the farmer's hands, however, these goods pick up a great deal of that "surplus-value" of which Marx so trenchantly complains.

Thinking over these matters carefully, we cannot but come to the conclusion that Marx was as shrewd in this economic theory as he was in some of his political principles. I do not pretend to hold that the sufferings of Russian peasants in the Soviet's brutal attempt to enforce this labor theory can be equated with the benefits we have obtained through a fuller realization of the economic value of man's work. We must, however, admit that just as Leo XIII effectively insisted on the spiritual worth and dignity of human labor, so did Karl Marx emphasize its downright and legitimate material value.

The Unemployed in England

What England has done to solve her unemployment problem—Some comparisons and contrasts.

***By* R. P. Walsh**

SELDOM in the history of the world has there been an unemployment problem such as we have today. One possible parallel is in the proletariat of Rome in the days of the Empire's decline, or in the great unemployment that followed the farmers' change over to sheep farming in England in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Of those days Saint Thomas More wrote in "Utopia" that "sheep be become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy and devour whole fields, houses and cities." Changing "sheep" to "machines," such a remark would apply to our own generation. Machines have been so used as to upset the whole social order, preserving profits but discharging men, attending to the upkeep of the machines but allowing the family to decay.

Today in England the total of unemployed is around one and three-quarters millions and if the number of those who are not on the registers of employment exchanges is added, the total is over two million, or some 10 percent of the workers. In certain parts of the country the incidence of unemployment is much heavier than elsewhere. In Lancashire the cotton industry is in a very depressed condition, as is coal mining in South Wales and Durham. In Scotland the whole of the Glasgow and Lanarkshire sections have heavy unemployment. In the Midlands and around London, where many new industries looking for low local taxation and cheap unorganized labor have built factories, unemployment is low. It is a sad sidelight on the state of Britain that the luxury and inessential trades have low unemployment figures, the basic industries high figures. Of

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course to a large extent this arises from the failing of foreign trade, since other countries now have begun to produce their own requirements and even to export and thus compete with Britain.

No official effort has been made to estimate the evils produced by this unemployment or to produce a solution. In the past years more and more men have sunk into an attitude of despair and indifference to everything. It is a sad sight to live in a town in a depressed area (officially known as "special area") and to see men who in many cases have been unemployed for several years become more and more despondent and more and more indifferent to work. Relief covers food and rent fairly adequately in small towns where cost of living is low but with difficulty in the larger towns; but it does not allow for renewals of clothes and household equipment or for more than a very low standard of life.

The effect on morale

As might be expected a proportion of these men who have suffered from prolonged unemployment no longer want work. This can be understood when the background of their lives is appreciated. There are very many young men who worked for two years after they left school, at fourteen, and then were discharged at the age of sixteen, when by law they became insurable, thus adding to the employer's costs. In the years following, work is irregular for many and marriage has often to be undertaken while both parties are in receipt of unemployment relief.

This relief is of three grades. The first is "unemployment insurance"; the second, "unemployment assistance"; the third, which is not strictly unemployment relief but relief to those unfit for work, is "public assistance."

Unemployment insurance had its origin in the years before the war when it was confined to a few scheduled trades. By the end of the first year, July, 1913, some 2,250,000 workers were covered by the scheme; in addition voluntary unemployment insurance schemes had been started by some twenty-one trade unions covering about 86,000 more workers. When the war was over, this scheme had to be extended, and gradually a complete scheme was worked out. From time to time in the past twenty years benefits have been reduced and the period during which insurance benefit could be received has been curtailed. Today the position is (ignoring various qualifications that apply in certain cases) that anyone who has worked in an insurable employment for some fifty weeks in the preceding two years (thus having fifty stamps on his card), is able to work and has lost his work through no fault of his own receives unemployment insurance for a year. If he is a single man, he receives seventeen shillings a week; if married, twenty-six shillings a week plus two shillings for every child. (At par seventeen shillings is about four dollars, and twenty-six shillings, about six and a quarter dollars.)

"Unemployment Assistance"

When the period of insurance is exhausted the unemployed man or woman is transferred to the Unemployment Assistance Board. Under this benefits are slightly higher, mainly through better benefits for children and a greater elasticity for hard cases, but there is one important change. Under the insurance scheme, the applicant received benefit by right, as while he was at work he paid weekly contributions of tenpence (about 20 cents), the employer and the government paying similar contributions. Under unemployment assistance this right is no longer recognized; the benefit is given on the basis of need, as determined by the officials of the Unemployment Assistance Board. This is what is known in Britain as the "means test." Often benefits under this scheme have been reduced because the cost is directly borne by the taxpayer, while the insurance scheme is self-supporting.

At one period the administration of "unemployment assistance" provoked widespread resentment. A large number of men were disallowed benefit and thus transferred to the "public assistance" scheme with lower benefits. A march was organized on London and riots took place in London and in many other cities. As a result the administration was eased and proposed cuts were withheld. Today the benefits under the assistance scheme are generally better than under the insurance scheme.

The public assistance scheme provides for those who, for one reason or another, are unable to work and are destitute. Benefits and the conditions under which these are administered are very much worse than under the other two schemes.

Existence is difficult under any of these three schemes, but it is possible for the average unemployed person to maintain himself on a diet that, while it is extremely moderate, is yet reckoned as being minimum standard. It is the additional expenses incurred when the children need new shoes or pants—mothers will realize how frequently this happens—or there is illness or a new saucepan needed, that make benefits insufficient.

In families in which grown sons work and the father is unemployed the father may be refused benefit under the "means test" and, in being dependent on his children, prevent them marrying. When grown-up sons of seventeen to twenty-five are unemployed and are refused benefit because their father is employed, they are often driven to leave home to seek work or to become "bums" thus breaking up the unity of the family. Leaving home to seek work is nearly always useless, for it is almost impossible to find work in that way.

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How work is found

Work is normally found through the medium of the employment exchange. Unemployed persons register there and employers needing staff give their requirements to the exchange, which sends up a few of the most suitable people from whom the employer may choose; but he is not bound to do so. Among ordinary workers the vast proportion of available positions are filled through these exchanges. The exchanges also pay the benefits due under either the insurance or the unemployed assistance schemes, as both of these are controlled directly by the central government. Public assistance is administered by local authorities and financed by local taxation. Thus the actual week to week care of the needs of the unemployed is adequately carried out, though conditions might be made easier and relief higher.

Readers of THE COMMONWEAL will remember Tim O'Brien's description of American transients (October 7, 1938). In this field there is one very great difference between the two countries. In England everyone is entitled to shelter. Every town and rural area has to provide what are called "casual wards," where shelter and food are provided for tramps and for migratory workers. There are drawbacks to this, as a stay of two nights is usually required, with a little taskwork during the intervening day.

Every year the London County Council takes a census of people sleeping out at night. In 1912 some 1,500 were discovered to be sleeping out, in parks, on benches and in doorways, while in 1934 there were only 80. In London it is literally true that without much red tape everyone can be provided wtih a bed that is not too uncomfortable and is fairly clean. Transient workers can obtain from their local labor exchange a "traveling card," can sign on at labor exchanges as they travel through towns and can arrange to draw their unemployment benefits wherever they wish.

Those who are not entitled to benefits have a much harder time. If they are genuinely seeking work, they can apply for relief to the poor law authorities and be provided with food. But unless the officials are satisfied that the person entirely fills the necessary description, all that is left to him is to stay in the casual ward and to receive when he leaves bread and cheese to carry him over until he reaches the next town. In brief it may be said that the lot of the homeless and migratory person in England is less severe than in the United States. Settlement laws affect him as they do in the United States, but not to anything like the same extent. In the vast majority of cases relief will be given.

Provided that the migratory person can get into a room or a lodging house for a couple of days, he can stay on the relief rolls of any town. He has little need to look for work, as vacancies are broadcast all over the country by the labor exchanges; and if he can find work elsewhere, the Ministry of Labor will pay removal expenses.

To a small degree England has its harvesting carried on by casual labor recruited from outside the area. But in nearly every case these workers are the unemployed from a particular district that go every year to the same farm and, when the harvest is over, return home. An instance is the Kent hop crop, harvested year after year by families from the East End of London who go each year to the same farmer and regard their trip as a semi-holiday.

"Refitting" camps

The other task set by the problem of unemployment is that of preventing the deterioration of the unemployed and the finding of work for them. To some degree the first part is carried out by means of training camps and refitting camps. Men are given a few weeks' open air work and plenty of food and are thus helped to maintain their physical fitness. These camps are not open to all, and, though very strong pressure can be brought to bear on men, no one is obliged to attend them. Mainly for young men exist training schools where trades are taught and work found in more prosperous parts of the country. Many men make good from these camps, though often the training is so sketchy that no employer keeps the trainee beyond a few weeks; he is then thrown out of work in a strange town, friendless.

These camps and training schemes only affect a small number of the unemployed because work is not available for more than a few, and the government has decided not to spend money merely to make jobs unless the particular expenditure is either economically sound or is a normal part of public work. In comparison with the United States, it may be said that Britain has better relief schemes but is less concerned about employing the unemployed. One illustration of this is that it is better for an unemployed man to remain inactive than to attempt to make work for himself by peddling, taking goods round to sell or working as an agent. Instead of encouraging and assisting an unemployed person attempting to make a job for himself, it is more likely that he will be penalized by being regarded as not available for work, and thus not eligible for relief, although it might be weeks before he could make any money out of his efforts to work up a round or a connection.

Attempts to make work or to run into debt to maintain the unemployed or to keep the unemployed usefully occupied are regarded as bad economics and discouraged. But unless Britain takes active steps to employ the unemployed, the majority of them will not be fit for work when and if prosperity ever returns.

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"Neither Storm, Nor Strife..."

The "Journal-Bulletin" carries on and helps bring sanity back to a wrecked and hysterical city.

By **Stuart D. Goulding**

THE DAILY NEWSPAPER is a habit in America. It arrives with the regularity of the mails and is accepted as complacently. It is taken for granted, as birth and death are taken for granted. Strikes may halt trolleys and buses; the family car may break down; telephone, light and power may be disabled; floods may delay food and medical supplies, but the nation expects and receives its newspaper night and morning. The newspaper is more than the recorder of facts, it is one side of every argument. The American public has come to accept the fact that each newspaper reflects the opinion of its publishers, and the public has reacted by taking sides either for or against the community daily. Its foreign and domestic news, its editorials and features, its sports columns, its socials and personals, its obituaries, weather reports, display and classified ads, even its comics are food for daily conversation and debate. The newspaper is America's forum on which is discussed political and economic issues and through which is planned all manner of community activity. No less important than its record of what has happened is its listing of what is to take place: the newspaper acts as clearing house for future meetings, lectures, concerts, conferences, parties, sports.

In time of crisis those organizing mass action rely upon the newspaper, even more than upon telephone, telegraph, radio and the mails, to coordinate and unite collective activity. Thus the newspaper's function in the community is manifold and vital. Paralyze the newspaper and you paralyze mass action. One community learned this lesson by bitter experience during a harrowing night.

Comes a hurricane

At noon on September 21, 1938, the city of Providence, Rhode Island, presented a wholly normal aspect. Morning papers had been filled with the Czech crisis and the first afternoon edition carried the story of Nazi Germany's ultimatum on the Sudetenland. Thanks to freedom of the press, Americans that day understood better than most Europeans the threat to peace which hung in the air.

Almost unnoticed that morning the papers carried storm warnings for Atlantic shipping and the news that a hurricane coming out of the Caribbean menaced Florida. Possibly some felt momentary pity for Floridians and were thankful they lived in New England, where only occasional spring floods carried any danger.

By 3 o'clock in the afternoon a southerly wind which had brought rain increased to 45 miles an hour. Small craft scurried to cover and the weatherwise tied down everything movable. The city went about its business unconcerned. Thereafter the wind increased to 50 miles an hour, 60, 70. Shoppers began to worry about getting home. Mothers worried for children on the way from school. Tree limbs, hanging signs and debris blew about.

The first real intimation of serious threat came when a tin roof blew off a large building in Providence, crushing passersby. Thereafter in such swift succession that no one was able to see it all, a tidal wave driven by a wind now increased to 125-miles-an-hour velocity moved up Narragansett Bay and into the narrow Providence river, inundating the business section, flooding all cellars and carrying everything but deeply anchored buildings before it.

In the space of moments the power plants of the electric light company, the telephone and telegraph companies, the gas company and the city's one daily newspaper—the *Journal-Bulletin*—were flooded and rendered useless. With chilling suddenness all communication ceased throughout Rhode Island. Those caught in downtown Providence found themselves trapped in swirling, angry waters or marooned on the upper floors of buildings. Those temporarily safe saw their fellows swept to death in the streets, saw automobiles covered over their tops, heavy trucks rolled over and over, plate glass windows of stores crushed in and their contents, even to heavy electric refrigerators, floated out into the streets, saw trolley cars swept from their tracks, barges lifted from their moorings and floated inland, bumping against buildings, huge oil tanks and tugboats hurled landward, signs hurled down, roofs torn off, great trees felled and miles of wire thrown in spluttering confusion.

In the midst of this terror, while self-preservation and the rescue of the nearest living occupied all thoughts of the marooned, darkness fell black

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and terrorizing and without relief from street or office lamp.

For four hours storm whipped the city, to subside as quickly as it came. Flood waters receded and people unfed for hours emerged gingerly from office buildings to wade through ankle-deep muck in search of any transportation that would take them home. They found a city in which every street was blocked with wires and poles, trees and parts of buildings, stalled automobiles, trucks, fire engines, trolley cars and buses.

A terrible din filled the city from short-circuited alarm bells, the sirens of ambulances, fire engines and police cars. An undertone of murmuring arose from the thousands as, dazed and shaken by what they had seen and experienced, they wandered in a state bordering on shock seeking their way homeward.

The press is silent

In all this the press was silent but not still. The flooding of the press room had prevented issuing an extra. The failure of power had deadened the receiving sets in thousands of homes; throughout the crisis the radio was useless. Even the fire alarm, police radio and teletype systems had failed. A lone trunk line from New York brought information into the city.

The initial crisis passed, wild speculation arose in Providence as to the fate of the rest of New England, particularly that section of Rhode Island lying between the city and the sea thirty miles to the south. Rumors and bits of information passed by word of mouth alone built up the story that life had been wiped out in the southern counties and that New London, Mystic, Stonington, Westerly, all the shore resorts east to Narragansett Pier, Jamestown and Newport had been swept into the sea. With communications gone, roads blocked or carried away and bridges down, there was no possible way of knowing anything with certainty that night. Concern for relatives, friends and even unknown victims mounted to a state bordering on hysteria.

There were in New England that night food and medical supplies sufficient to care for all the victims. But lacking communications, relief agencies were ignorant of how and where to send aid. Police, the national guard, the Red Cross, other groups mobilized with painful slowness as members afoot struggled to depots and armories over fallen trees and debris.

In Providence looting of stores quickly followed the subsiding of the waters and haggard police were forced to turn from rescue work to guarding property. With the coming of the National Guard whole areas were blocked off to prevent further vandalism and huge searchlights were played down principal streets. Hospitals were filled to the last cot; doctors strove with torches and lanterns to perform emergency operations. Fires burned themselves out because firemen were ignorant of their existence. Near panic and a universal feeling of helplessness pervaded the entire community that night. While all the living worked with whatever means at hand to relieve suffering, they worked blindly and in the dark under tremendous handicap.

Had any newspaper been able to tell the truth of what had happened, men's burning desire to help would have been given point and direction. Lacking it, there was terrible confusion. Incoming Boston newspapers were able to tell only what had happened in their spheres of news coverage and New York papers told only what had happened to Long Island and western Connecticut. This partial information about other sections served only to feed hysteria.

The one newspaper which could tell the story, the only one with complete coverage in Rhode Island, was still struggling against fearful odds to get on the street. The community hung on the appearance of an extra.

The paper comes out again

From the beginning of the storm men and women reporters risked their lives to venture into the hurricane for news. They returned soaked to the skin with more than they could write. As rapidly as they finished, rewrite men welded their stories into a comprehensive whole. Each new arrival brought more harrowing details and these, with the lists of dead, dying, injured and missing, built up the painfully gathered story. The press room flooded, the linotypes, engraving machinery, elevators and lights dead, the staff worked on feverishly into the night, aided only by a few flashlights.

Ordinarily the public "sees" world and community events through the eyes of the newspaper. That night each person saw only what his physical eyes beheld and that little was so horrible that imagination was staggered. Rumor, the enemy of truth, rode triumphant, spreading terror, panic and dismay.

The first extra was printed in a newspaper plant fifteen miles from Providence, an eight-page paper as complete and accurate as trained newspapermen could make it, its very faults indicating how gigantic had been the task of getting it out. Before dawn the papers were on the streets. They gave an incomplete but helpful story of what had happened not only in the city but in the southern part of the state. They told what roads had been made passable, which communities were hardest hit, where aid was needed most urgently, whether food, medical supplies or protection were first requisites.

With the newspaper before them, relief agencies and the military found a common basis for

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action, were able to plan intelligently. Mobilized during the night and aided by the promptness with which all citizens and the employees of utilities had started to clear roads and restore communications, these agencies moved trucks into action and with trained sureness began the work of effective relief on a large scale.

With the coming of the newspaper, near-panic subsided. In many of its aspects the hurricane damage was more harrowing than had been imagined.

Whole communities had been swept away by the tidal waves and hundreds were dead and injured. Despite the gravity of the situation, the terrible toll of dead and missing, the menace through contagion to the living, the community accepted its fate calmly once the true state of affairs was fully realized, and the people set to work with such hearty will restoring and rebuilding that now, little more than seven months after the disaster, comparatively few physical traces remain visible.

The morning after the hurricane, and during the days which followed, the newspaper was the guide to rehabilitation. Units acting independently of one another looked to the newspaper for assistance when it became necessary to act with other groups. Day and night an overworked staff from publishers and editors down through the editorial rooms to office boys and apprentices worked unceasingly to gather information under tremendous handicaps, to take it to other cities where the paper was printed and assembled for home distribution.

Throughout the crisis and the weeks which followed public confidence in the essential truthfulness and accuracy of what was printed attested the regard in which it held the press. Limited in size, the newspaper could carry no advertising until it returned to its own press room. During a period of two weeks one question hovered on the lips of the public, "When will the paper return to normal?"

The first regular editions, appearing two weeks after the crisis, were heavily loaded with display and classified advertising. The community breathed sighs of relief. With the newspaper back to usual form everyone felt that the disaster was finally over. Hysteria, terror, even anxiety were things of the past.

The confidence expressed in the *Journal-Bulletin* during an emergency is a tribute to American journalism.

During the hurricane and, particularly, its aftermath, newspapers from other cities could not provide the service of the home newspaper. It alone gave coverage on what had become the only important news for the day. The remainder of the nation might still be interested in Czech troubles; the hurricane belt was interested only in its local problems. And public confidence on this occasion was not based so much on the excellent job of reporting done during the hurricane as it was on the general record all American newspapers had built up in the public mind over a period of more than a century.

As long as this relation between press and public continues, democracy in America and the welfare of the people are assured. Events in Europe have shown that by seizing the press a minority can control a nation almost overnight. Events in Providence the night of September 21, 1938, demonstrated that the press alone can coordinate civil action and allay fears during a crisis. That the nation's press must be kept free, ready for instant service to the whole community whenever need arises, was the supreme lesson learned by the tiniest segment of this nation during the night of a hurricane.

Lost Child

Lingers long as time,
forever:
here in night, the smoke-held park,
where yellow arc-lights glow,
dispel the dark,
tree-shadow broken at a moonlit wall,
lingers here the child, the lost child
and his childhood—
where screech owls call:

lonely as the sound of rain
on fallen leaves,
the water sound adrip from eaves
November nights:
hearing still retreating faint,
the voice of youth in shrill, in distant cry:
Run, my good sheep, run!
in sound of voice that says:
I'm ready now. I'm coming.
And nobody comes.

Spring nights, fall nights,
where April evening never ends,
where autumn falls, October never falls away:
time lends
eternity; here stays the dream
inviolably—in smoky village air,
the streetlights' glow in leaves,
wind's lonely sound.
House, street, and wind-bent tree
compose a world to be
forever, a place of things to touch, to see:
fist-clenched and bitter-eyed,
where still the lone, lost child
plays, dreams, cradles his mind
half-fearful in the shadows,
and asks of the circumscribed, blind
world: *Only be kind.*

AUGUST DERLETH.

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Communications

CATHOLICS DISCUSS WORLD PEACE—R.S.V.P.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I thoroughly agree with your remarks about President Roosevelt in the editorial entitled "R.S.V.P." published in your issue of April 28. It is my belief that some good might have been accomplished had his plan been addressed to Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier as well as to Hitler and Mussolini. Conceivably it might well have been addressed to the Emperor of Japan—or to the government of Japan, since it is not the general practice to address the Emperor—so that colonies of European nations would have been included.

However, may I point out what appear to me to be inaccuracies in your view of the situation? England and France have not, since the World War, seized additional territory by force of arms. The article states that wrongs have been committed by post-war England and France. Undoubtedly, that is true. It appears from what we read that Italy was promised certain things in consideration of her joining the Allies during the war, and these promises were not kept. But are any of the wrongs so grievous or so incapable of solution that a resort to arms must follow? As the wrongs of the Versailles treaty became evident, adjustments were made, as witness the Locarno treaty, the Dawes and Young plans and so forth. Adjustments of this sort do take time—but the point is that the former Allies had recognized the wrongs in some manner and their solution, if slow, was at least in prospect.

It may well be said in the future that the greatest wrong committed by post-war England and France was their failure to prevent the reoccupation of the Rhineland and the complete remilitarization of Germany. If, when the German Army moved into the Rhineland, France had sent her army against that of Germany, military authorities tell us that the German army would have had to retire. France then would not have been immobilized in the west, powerless to prevent the German march to the east. The resulting crises in Germany would have forced the fall of the Nazi régime, and its lesson could not have been lost on England and France. That course would certainly have avoided the dynamite of a Russian alliance, at present under negotiation.

I, for one, and I believe many others, know on which side we stand. The Nazi type of aggression grows by what it feeds on, and it must be stopped. During our period of neutrality in the last war many in the United States were sympathetic to the German cause, but it is safe to say that very few are favorable to her cause today. These facts should be made available in the strongest way to Hitler and Mussolini. The prospect of the United States being added to the list opposing the Axis powers is, in my mind, the greatest deterrent to war—even if risks are involved. Certainly a war would involve greater risks, because the die would be cast.

The question of the return of Germany's former colonies would naturally have to be on the agenda of any conference. But would even the absolute return of all the colonies help the situation? It is my opinion that such a return would only add fuel to the bonfire. What German colony is capable of producing the things Germany wants today? If my memory serves me correctly, only one of the former German colonies returned any profit to the mother country. Colonies would only mean a challenge to England all over the world. There would be the usual insatiable demands for more colonies.

"But we should be willing for the sake of a greater good to envision a vigorous interchange of goods between Europe and South America." I doubt that many Americans would subscribe to the above quotation from the article. German economy today is a parasite on the world and it would be pointless, in my mind, to think that German economy would change if greater opportunities were afforded it. A war economy must operate on that basis only. Americans generally would oppose any attempt to disrupt their hard won trade with South America to finance a war economy probably to be used against them when the time should be ripe.

Few people now have any faith in treaties signed by nations, and particularly those to which dictators have affixed their signatures. What would be the use of concessions if the *quid pro quo* of them would be of uncertain worth?

You say in the article, "With patience and forbearance and more tact and justice than was manifested in the original offer we should seek to arrive at a feasible agenda for a conference, stressing our own willingness to make concessions." You do not say what concessions the United States should be prepared to make. I assume that you do not advocate giving the dictatorships naval bases in Florida or Alaska.

It should be apparent that any spirit of compromise is interpreted as weakness by the dictatorships and an open invitation to help themselves. In a world of free intercourse of ideas and information, it might be possible to spread a spirit of world peace by compromise. But, now, if compromise will yield something, why not increase the pressure and get more?

I believe that the only solution is a dictated compromise by the democracies, even if that would appear to be a contradiction in terms. A solution is only possible when Hitler and Mussolini are convincingly shown that the scales of power are weighed against them. They understand that kind of language—not that of compromise. To that end it would be necessary that the United States continue to build its navy to a level necessary to defend its shores and its commerce against any possible combination of powers and to establish a mobile modern army, not large in numbers but capable of efficient defense of our shores.

GEORGE H. FEARONS, JR.

Kalamazoo, Mich.

TO the Editors: Dr. Emmanual Chapman, in THE COMMONWEAL for April 28, expressed some interesting opinions on the subject of peace and the rôle this country should play in the tragic drama unfolding before

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us. He seems to be convinced that Americans, including all Catholics, should support without hesitancy the program of those who would have this country take sides against the so-called aggressor nations in the current European and Asiatic disturbances. To this opinion he is entitled. A similar position is maintained, on different and less lofty grounds, by many other influential groups in the United States, such as the administration in Washington, the highly intellectual and well-endowed "international law and order" associations, and the Communist Party. Dr. Chapman seems pained, however, when he realizes that among his fellow Catholics only a minority share his opinion on this question . . . in fact, I think it safe to say that the preponderant opinion among Catholics in the United States tends to the isolationist or neutralitarian position. For example, Cardinal O'Connell recently condemned the war hysteria and selfish patriotism (stemming from interventionist circles) of our day, and urged Americans not to meddle in foreign affairs.

Dr. Chapman regrettably did not confine himself to an expression of a point of view which he or any other Catholic is free to defend. He proceeded to indulge in name calling at the expense of those Catholics who, disagreeing with him, insist that the most prudent policy for the United States at the present juncture of events is to remain out of any struggle between rival European and Asiatic imperialisms and not to be deceived by the parade of high-sounding slogans and idealisms with which interested parties are succeeding in concealing the real issues in 1939 (as in 1914-1917). Catholics who disagree in this way with Dr. Chapman are termed victims of a "corrosive cynicism and despair." They are "defeatists." Their arguments are "pharasaical" and "specious." They are "selfish and egoistic." How "dare they announce themselves as Christians," remarks the writer. Finally, these poor deluded Catholics, such as Father Gillis, the editors of THE COMMONWEAL and *Catholic Worker,* etc., are simply indulging in or being victimized by "pseudo-Christian rationalizations of Nazi propaganda." Such "deceived" Catholics (most of us) are simply playing into the hands of the "father of lies."

Now "name-calling" is a familiar device for influencing the opinions of persons below a certain educational level. Dr. Chapman chooses to use that device. He chooses also to assume that his opinion on this question of America's rôle in a troubled Europe is the only position a Catholic can honestly defend. Again a familiar device—to identify one's own particular "cause" or "opinion" with a more general and universally accepted cause.

Were one to attack Dr. Chapman (and all others agreeing with him in considering it the duty of this country to assist the "democracies" in their coming struggle against "fascism") with the same sort of weapons he uses against the majority of his fellow Catholics (who agree with the "non-intervention" position so ably defended by Father Gillis, Senator David Walsh, the *Catholic Worker* and most other Catholic publications in this country), we would find ourselves indulging in such name calling as follows: "victims of another flood of British propaganda of the sort that engulfed this country prior to the last war to check German expansion and preserve the *status quo,*" "tool of the international bankers" and "pseudo-Christian rationalizations of Communist propaganda against Fascist aggression," etc. But no—we must refrain from using such tactics. Let Father Coughlin do that. In such a publication as THE COMMONWEAL, the case should be (and is being) presented dispassionately and with a wealth of reasoned argument.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Chapman confused the question of the ends to be sought (here he will find unanimity among Catholics on the question of peace and international society) with the question of prudent selection of means in a world where national policies are still determined by factors almost exclusively materialistic in nature.

Let me conclude by quoting a few sentences by the undersigned which appeared in THE COMMONWEAL for January 7, 1938. "The most important goal of any American policy these days is to keep out of the European and Oriental disturbances. Strict neutrality in action and if possible in thought appears to be the surest way to achieve this end. Antagonizing boycotts, quarantines or joint intervention are incompatible with this policy. Hence it is to be deplored that the same factors and groups that successfully transformed Americans from a comparatively neutral citizenry into one crying for German blood in 1914-1917 are operating today to produce an anti-Japanese and anti-Fascist public opinion sufficiently powerful to support Anglo-American-French-Russian intervention. The same high-sounding slogans are being dragged out ("democracy versus autocracy," "civilization versus barbarism," "international decency and law," etc.) to justify action against a power or group of powers menacing British (and incidentally American) interests in China, and against two expanding powers in Europe menacing the vital imperial and economic interests of Russia, England and France. In short, rigid neutrality in thought and action, public and private, seems to be the best guarantee of peace for the United States in a troubled world where international policies are determined by political and economic realities, not ideals."

J. J. BURNS.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Mr. John J. O'Connor writes (May 5) that it is surprisingly unrealistic to advocate today a world conference for peace and justice before building a Christian world order that "must necessarily begin with the Christianization of the individual, the family, the community, the nation and eventually the entire world." Are the Bishops of the United States unrealistic for voicing on April 19, "the prayerful hope that, in the light of the sentiments expressed by His Holiness on Easter Sunday, our Government's efforts to bring about a world conference would be successful"? Unfortunately, Mr. O'Connor is not alone in committing the fallacy of setting up, as an indispensable *"before,"* the establishment of a "Christian world order." How, it may be asked, can a Christian world order be built without at the same time building the natural world order? If

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present world conditions are so unnatural that even the possibility of an international conference for peace and justice is hopeless, does Mr. O'Connor believe that Christianization can work in a void, or that grace can cover up the corruption of the natural order? Whatever Mr. O'Connor may mean by Christianization, surely an integral realism would not deny the reality of the natural order—individual, familial, national and international—which can be perfected and fulfilled by Grace.

Just as there are the natural social structures of the individual, the family, and the nation, so there exists, whether we recognize it or not, and however imperfectly, a natural, international social structure including all the nations of the world, and subject to the laws of social morality and justice. This moral structure, which is grounded in political-economic realities, must not be denied or ignored, but worked with patiently in the slow, historical process, and Christianized from within by Christian men and women in whom the life of grace superabounds.

As Christian men who belong simultaneously to two societies—the supernatural society of the Church, and the natural society of nations—is it not our duty as men to perfect the fragile structures of the natural order, and as Christians to act as instruments whereby grace can flow into them?

I agree with Mr. O'Connor that nations are not won for peace and justice by force, but by Christian love, but it seems to me that Mr. O'Connor is looking at things in reverse. Today, it is not a matter of forcing peace and justice on others, but resisting the injustices of the aggressors. Is Christian love, I ask again, to close its eyes to the violations of peace and justice, providing that "our own legitimate national interests are not jeopardized?" Are we not best protecting our own national interests by helping the international interests of peace and justice? Will not the common good of our own nation best be realized by assuring the common good of the family of nations?

Dr. J. J. Burns writes that there is "unanimity among Catholics on the question of peace and international society," but regrets that we confuse "the question of the ends to be sought with the question of prudent selection of means in a world where national policies are still determined by factors almost exclusively material in nature." If Dr. Burns understood us rightly, he would see that in urging a world conference for peace and justice there is no confusion of means and end, but on the contrary such a conference, at which differences could be settled amicably, is a proportionate means to the end. Catholic isolationists must admit that from a moral point of view isolationism is untenable, but they argue that they are isolationist not from a moral but a political point of view. This Machiavellian divorce of politics from morality, alas, has been one of the causes of the present political disorder. As moral agents men must take the side of the good against evil: in the moral order neutrality is only for moral neuters. As men who function in the economic and political orders, we must work with the material factors and infuse into them moral and spiritual energies. Unlike Dr. Burns, who claims that "rigid neutrality in thought and action, public and private, seems to be the best guarantee of peace for the United States in a troubled world where international policies are determined by political and economic realities, not ideals," we say that these realities must not be evaded but faced and transformed in such a way that our "ideals" can be realized in and through them.

The way to keep out of European and Asiatic disturbances is by taking sides in peace with those who are on the side of international morality and justice, by taking sides morally and by the just means of economic sanctions, boycotts, etc. If we take the right peace time measures now, we can avoid becoming entangled in an armed conflict later. By just peace actions in the present we even could avoid future collaboration with Russia. This is not meddling in foreign affairs. Foreign powers are meddling in our internal affairs, and in the face of the mounting evidence it is an ostrich-like ignorance to fail to see the danger of Nazi penetration in the United States. With the present world-wide economic, political and cultural interdependence, isolationism is a contradiction in terms which in the long run, like all contradictions, can only be self-destructive.

EMMANUEL CHAPMAN.

BLOCKING THE PENSION RAIDS

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: Glen Perry's article in your issue of May 12 shows that the A.V.A. is at it again. They are still at their specious arguments. They had them during the World War and still have them. First the argument was that we must fight the Central powers in order that they could make billions out of the war, and now it is to save those billions. . . .

They argued "Fight the Central powers to save democracy and humanity" while they were raking in billions and we suffered loss of limbs and life. Their argument for war was not on an economic level at that time; they were on a humanitarian level. They could never have induced us to fight for money alone. We made an agreement with them on a humanitarian level, taking them at their face value. Now they want to get out of their humanitarian obligation.

They could never pay us in full and we do not expect it. We do expect a living. If it is only a matter of saving their money, it is a matter of saving our health and life, physical and mental. . . .

Our arguments are less specious than yours were during the war or are now. We learned the trick from you. We believed you during the war. We no longer do that. There is another side to it and it is this. Who is more selfish, the one who tries in some way to get enough to make a living, or he who gets another one to make money for him? . . .

The writer is a disabled veteran himself and has no complaint (adequate pension), but he does get into homes where there is sore need of everything. Minds as well as bodies were broken in the war and it is not the fault of the veterans. Those who planned to fight the war should naturally plan to pay for it.

THEODORE STUCKART, M.D.

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Points & Lines

Coal and Kentucky

AFTER two solid months of negotiations the United Mine Workers of America won their fight to secure a union shop in their contracts with a good proportion of the operators in the bituminous coal fields of the Appalachian region. But the agreement was far from universal. According to the New York *Herald Tribune:*

> As the signing took place a block of Southern mine operators that has balked at the contract was preparing to issue a public statement denouncing its terms and expressing its intention to operate without it. . . . The dissenting mine owners operate in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and are understood to produce about one-half of the coal of the Appalachian region.

Among the more moderate enthusiasts for the settlement was the *Christian Science Monitor:*

> (The union shop is what most people understand to be the closed shop but there is one distinction. The union shop requires that the workers join the union after they are put on the pay roll. The closed shop forces the employer to hire his men from those who are already in the union, thus giving the union a monopolistic control over the very source of labor.)
>
> The Lewis union possessed a strong case for at least a union shop in view of the fact that it already has enrolled 95 percent of the soft coal miners. To be sure, a universal "union shop" would crowd out the American Federation of Labor's Progressive Miners' union, but realistically it is difficult to see how the coal industry would benefit from making the mine regions a battlefield for the jurisdictional war between the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor.
>
> Both the closed shop and the union shop are susceptible of serious abuse. But if the union and the operators now restore the understanding and trust that characterized their dealings before this dispute, the issue of the closed, union or open shop will be of little importance to either side.

Similar was the view of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch:*

> Today's news indicates the six-week coal strike is virtually settled. An agreement between the United Mine Workers and the operators means more than an end to the tie-up of an essential industry. It means, also, that a potentially fruitful opportunity to settle the long conflict between the two camps of organized labor has been saved.
>
> In an article in last Sunday's *Post-Dispatch,* Marquis Childs told of the fine progress which was being made toward healing the rift between the AFL and the CIO before the coal strike occurred. A formula, Mr. Childs reported, had been worked out and agreed upon whereby nine former AFL unions would return to the federation. But negotiations were broken off because of the threat that the AFL would take advantage of the strike deadlock to start a drive for a rival union in the coal industry.
>
> When the coal strike is ended, these negotiations should be resumed. It will be a fine opportunity for William Green and John L. Lewis to win the plaudits of the peace-minded rank and file of both the AFL and the CIO.

The *Herald Tribune* found several flies in the ointment:

> Apparently John L. Lewis has won a victory in his dispute with the Appalachian coal operators. But the cost of it, both to him and to the Administration, which obediently played into his hands at the end, is yet to be assessed. One serious item may possibly be the disintegration of the Appalachian Conference. This means, if it takes place, a substitution of individual contracts between the union and the operators for one covering the region and hence a decidedly backward step in the development of collective bargaining. Not even Lewis can consider such a prospect a gain for labor, though in return he gets, in the majority of instances, his "union shop." . . .
>
> Of course, the immediate fruit of the settlement—the resumption of mining and an end to a dangerous crisis—will be welcomed throughout the country. No doubt it was the President's first duty to hasten this relief, as he has. But a different President would have done so not by throwing his weight on one side against the other but simply by insisting that the mines reopen pending an agreement. Neither side, under the circumstances, could have resisted such an impartial demand, made with all the power and prestige of the office behind it. But, then, a different President would hardly have made a political partner of Lewis in the first place.

Louis Stark presents quite a different interpretation in the New York *Times:*

> Historians may, perhaps, dispute whether or not the President's mandate to operators and miners to reach a quick settlement favored one side or the other. The fact is that the United Mine Workers have won the "union shop" from the operators in the Appalachian region. Elsewhere the union shop prevails for the most part. . . .
>
> With the victorious outcome of the coal strike-lockout situation John L. Lewis and his CIO definitely halted the likelihood of large-scale encroachments by the American Federation of Labor's coal affiliate, the Progressive Miners of America. Further, corporate opponents of the CIO suffered a setback in their hope of inflicting a powerful body blow against the CIO's "key" union.

That the coal strike may have other serious consequences for the miners and operators is the pertinent suggestion of the Jesuit weekly, *America:*

> Serious as is the situation in the coal-mining districts due to the fact that the miners have been idle for the past six weeks, the gravity of the present crisis becomes daily more acute by the threat on the part of certain industries of installing oil-burning furnaces to replace the present coal burners. The far-reaching consequences of such action on the part of industry, particularly public service, cannot fail to be realized.

While operations were resumed in a number of mines in the Appalachian region and elsewhere, attention was focused on Harlan County, Kentucky, where the operators were planning to reopen the mines without having signed the agreement. Large contingents of troops of the National Guard were on hand at the orders of Governor Chandler. This move brought a demand from John L. Lewis for federal intervention. Said Heywood Broun:

> Kentucky may be a border state, but it is well within the boundaries of the Union. What goes on in Harlan, Kentucky, is felt in vital ways in other commonwealths of the country. Most distinctly coal is not a local issue. Every single American has an acute personal interest in the matter of industrial peace. And that interest goes to the extent of a stake in a settlement which shall promote stability, good wages and decent working conditions. And, of course, that peace must depend upon the good will and assent of the majority of those directly concerned in the craft of mining and marketing coal. Small minorities have no right to try to bring about a war by putting their own selfish interests forward and saying, "We will not permit peace, because it happens not to profit our own small group." That is not democratic procedure.

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Happy Chandler was not elected to play the rôle of a Hill-Billy Hitler or a Mountaineer Mussolini. He follows bad precedent in his insistence that the President of the United States is an outsider who has no right to try to produce peace within the confines of Kentucky as well as elsewhere. It is not the temper of America to permit troops to bayonet miners back into the pit and turn blue grass to purple. It almost seems as if the Governor of Kentucky feels that good will itself is not only a local issue, but something purely personal. It will not excuse Chandler if he says, as he calls out the riot guns, "Don't bother about possible bloodshed. Just look at me. I'm happy."

The New York *Post* said in a leading editorial:

What will follow? We know what conditions in Harlan used to be. We know that:

Harlan lived in a reign of terror; police and hired thugs waged open war against labor organizers; women were urged to lure CIO men to lonely spots where they were beaten up; others were run out of town, and one man—a Government witness—was MURDERED.

It was a great fight the Government waged to clean up Harlan, a battle in which the Federal agents led by Brien McMahon performed a national service.

The Federal Government is still a party to the situation in Harlan. We hope it will find means to prevent a revival of the terror and bloodshed which made Harlan a national horror and disgrace.

The nation by and large hopes for a just and peaceful settlement in Harlan County, where, despite serious tension, negotiations are still proceeding. Americans for the most part desire that a settlement of the desperate coal miner dispute will shortly lead to an end of the factionalism that for so many months has kept various industries in a state of unsettlement and in many cases so weakened the position of the worker that he has been unable to secure the wages and conditions to which he is entitled. But peace within the ranks of labor and between labor and management should not be an armed truce. It should be a step toward a genuine partnership, a sharing of profits and responsibilities between capital and labor.

Catholic Papers and European Politics

CATHOLIC papers in England are waging a campaign for peace. Perhaps the principal voice in this verbal barrage is the *Catholic Herald* of London, which has formulated a peace plan including the following:

(A) A National Lay Pilgrimage to Walsingham on Sunday, May 21.

(B) The Pilgrimage to represent, directly or indirectly, parishes throughout the country. Pilgrims will carry the names of all supporters of our appeal, to be deposited under the protection of Our Lady of Walsingham at the shrine. Copies of the appeal and a statement of the numbers of signatories to be sent to the Holy Father and to the bishops of England and Wales.

(C) At the next meeting of every guild, society, sodality, Catholic Action Council, members in agreement with the appeal are asked to propose a resolution endorsing our manifesto of April 14 and to set up a suitable method of helping to collect as many signatories as possible for the Walsingham Pilgrimage.

(D) Readers in each parish are requested to ask the parish priest to oversee the gathering of signatures and, if possible, to organize a parish deputation to Walsingham. Many parish priests and other member of the clergy may be willing to give spontaneous guidance to their flock in this matter.

Blackfriars says of this, "Its present anti-war drive has all our sympathy," and quotes a paragraph written by "Watchman" in the Glasgow *Observer* (a Catholic weekly):

We know the problems which are troubling the peace of southeastern and central Europe. *They are not Herr Hitler's creations, but our own.* The vile methods by which he has recently attempted their solution does not excuse us from attempting our own solution. The suggestion that Herr Hitler should be treated as a kind of political leper is attractive to schoolboys, but unworthy of adults. *We must insist, if we are going to be pledged to her support, on France going to conference with Italy*: we cannot begin a war in defense of the principle of negotiation by refusing ourselves to negotiate. We have lost our temper, and we must regain it before we can play our proper part in the stern struggle which lies before us.

Douglas Jerrold in the *Catholic Herald* has some things to say about where the responsibility for the present situation lies, and attributes it more to politicians than to bankers:

The bitter irony of the situation lies here. We have forced the Central Europeans on to autarchy. We are ourselves, as is America, dependent on their willingness to import our manufactures. Hence the pressure of the banks in England and the U. S. A. against the Central Powers. It is, however, profoundly foolish to talk as if the banks were exercising this pressure in their own interests, to sell their wares, so to speak. The prosperity of the banks is determined by that of the countries in which they operate. Gold has no value apart from the stability of the gold countries. The crux of the matter lies in the acts of our politicians, not of our bankers. The politicians have forced self-sufficiency on our essential customers. In so doing, they have undermined the foundations of our own economic system and made the banks legitimately nervous.

The *Weekly Review*, successor to *G.K.'s Weekly*, has been taking a very definite view these last several months. It cries out, "Beware of Russia," and describes any British-French-Russian alliance as "imbecility." It prints the following from the pen of Mr. Sisley Huddleston:

Those who would die rather than solicit or accept the assistance of Italy (perhaps they will!) in the primary and indeed single task of Europe—that of setting bounds to Germany's ambitions—perpetually clamor for Russia's assistance. They balance their anti-fascism by pro-communism. Possibly they have, by their four years of unreasoning hatred, succeeded in making an enemy of Italy; it is certain that they have not succeeded and never will succeed in making a friend of Russia. Nobody ever did—neither under the Czars nor under the Soviets.

Its second plank is for conscription and a large army:

What this country needs if it is to meet that menace [Germany] effectively is a mobile expeditionary force of not less than twenty divisions—and thirty divisions would be better. Such a force with its due proportion of reserves and its full equipment in all arms would take, under any system of recruitment, several years to form. Men trained for less than one year would be of insufficient value in any case. Unless the force were definitely organized for foreign service it would be of no value at all for the purposes of the common victory. There is no such thing as victory in a so-called "defensive" war. The defensive has no permanent military value save as a method of gaining time for the launching of an offensive. Indeed there is no more contemptible feature in the whole mass of modern falsehood than the substitution of the "defense" for the true words, "armed forces."

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Its third plank is in favor of Anglo-Italian amity.

The *Catholic Herald* also is vehemently opposed to a Russian alliance, and supplies a strong reason for its views:

> But there is a much more serious aspect than the factual one: it is the moral one. We claim to be resisting aggression, and the whole weight of moral purpose behind behind our action is due to our moral condemnation of the Nazi and Fascist régimes. But by the very act of invoking Soviet help we destroy the essence of our moral purpose.

In this the London *Tablet* concurs, and adds some condiments of its own. It continues its anti-American bias:

> Herr Hitler's long speech in answer to President Roosevelt bristled with points. There was a sharp contrast at the end of the speech between what has been achieved in Germany and the United States, since 1933, when, in the same month of January, President Roosevelt and Herr Hitler took their respective helms; and it was plainly implied, though not bluntly said, that before extending his solicitude to Europe, the American President should lead his people to make better use of the vast and wealthy area in which they are so fortunate as to dwell.
>
> This part of the speech, much more than the sufficiently skilful debating rejoinders, about which countries feel threatened, and what might or might not be achieved by the hitherto disappointing method of general conferences, went to the abiding root of the tension in Europe.

And it continues to give voice to ideas of the same generic character as Mr. Christopher Dawson has recently expressed in "Beyond Politics."

> The Germans had, perhaps, very good reasons, insufficiently pondered in Britain, for turning their backs on the world of the nineteenth century, after the international trade machinery had been carefully remodeled to their disadvantage. The last century preached individualism, and was listened to because it also offered hitherto unknown economic opportunity for individuals. The Nazi philosophy was successfully preached to the young men of the German cities, calling on them to abandon small and hopeless ambitions, and to play for the team, and find their happiness in a new social consciousness. In sufficient numbers they have done so, and the fact creates a new world for us all.
>
> Under the pressure of Germany the British life is being transformed, much of it for the better, and what will emerge, adjusted to conditions which are not peace in the old sense, will be a country able to live in a new world. An order is dying and as our country grew great under it, and was its main center, we may too easily think its existence vital to our survival as a great nation. But it was an order which brought great weaknesses as well as strength, and we shall gain as much as we lose in adjusting ourselves by the changes, now begun, toward greater self-sufficiency and clearer national direction which we have to make.

French and Belgian papers devote themselves more to analyzing events than to advocating policies. *Temps Présent* (Paris) publishes an article by André Sidobre:

> As to the valued help [in France and England] of last September, Hitler will not receive it again. Because everyone knows not only that Danzig and the Corridor are indeed not worth the death of either a British grenadier or a French infantryman but also that to hand over Poland as Czechoslovakia was handed over is the best possible way of condemning to death England, as well as all her thousands of grenadiers, and France, with her millions of foot-soldiers.

La Cité Chrétienne (Brussels) says much the same thing:

> The long-awaited speech of Chancellor Hitler contains nothing new. It has merely confirmed the impression that Danzig has become the nerve-center. Colonel Beck must recall with some chagrin the consequences of his attitude in September, 1938, when, to satisfy his grudge against the Czechs and to obtain a trifling reward, he played Germany's game. England has decisively assumed the leadership of the countries that support the *status quo*. She continues her notable effort at rearmament, institutes conscription, guarantees Poland, Greece and Rumania. Even at Munich, Mr. Chamberlain declared that if his country found herself confronted by an attempted domination of Europe by Germany, a struggle would be inevitable. England thinks that this is what is happening, and prepares for war; she girds herself against Hitler as she did before against Napoleon, always remembering that she is no longer really an island.

The American Catholic press is largely isolationist; Father Gillis in the *Catholic World* well expresses this view of the situation when he says of Mr. Roosevelt:

> Like Mr. Wilson, he disregards the Senate, ignores the people, makes speeches, writes notes, takes sides, scolds one side in the European controversy, promises help to the other, and commits us willy-nilly, all the while, reiterating the purely fanciful phrase "measures short of war." There are no "measures short of war." Mr. Wilson learned that—too late. Mr. Roosevelt should not have to learn it over again. He should consider the definition of a wise man as "one who doesn't make the same mistake *once*."

James Cooney in the Chicago *New World* takes a different attitude and finds in Mr. Roosevelt's proposals and acts an attempt to preserve peace in Europe on the basis that if there is no peace in Europe, we also will be drawn into war. The *Daily Tribune* of Dubuque fairly represents the views of the diocesan weeklies:

> If you want peace, write to your senator and congressman. Tell them you are against an undefensive war, a war fought on foreign soil. Ask them to support a constitutional amendment that would place the war-making power in the hands of the people, since they are the sufferers. . . .

The Buffalo *Echo* takes the same attitude, gives it color by quoting *America* and the *Osservatore Romano:*

> It is extremely likely that history will condemn President Roosevelt for his appeal to Hitler and Mussolini. The New York *America* indicates the reason when it editorializes on a comment by the *Osservatore Romano,* the semi-official Vatican organ, as follows: "Considering the decisively hostile reception," according to the latter journal, "it must be stated that international tension has been aggravated at least from the psychological point of view." Mediation, says the same organ, must pass beyond the "current phase of flaming polemics. . . . The United States, by its commanding position, may be particularly advantaged to make just such a contribution. But if attempted, an appeal for peace should first and foremost of itself be pacific. It should seek times and occasions when its pacific intentions cannot possibly be misunderstood. It should calm and not provoke, clarify and not enrage. The President's message has created new problems by not following this obvious procedure."
>
> With this conservatively worded verdict we are in full accord. Now comes Hitler's answer—a reply cut from the same cloth. It is sarcastic, vituperative, scornful, pettish, narrow and wholly expediential. Seldom have more important diplomatic exchanges concerning one of the world's most threatening crises been pitched on lower levels. The President's appeal was in extremely bad taste; Hitler's, though a masterpiece of invective and corrosive scorn, established a new low level for diplomacy. Aside from the sad fact that this exchange has placed our country in an extremely unenviable position, the world's crisis has, if anything, been heightened thereby.

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The Stage & Screen

Tabloid Shakespeare

WHEN it was announced that there were to be Shakespearean performances at the New York World's Fair under the direction of Miss Margaret Webster, lovers of the theatre sat up and took notice. The great exhibition on Flushing Meadows wasn't to be all mechanical invention, lights and side-shows. Serious drama was to have its place. For they know that whatever Margaret Webster touches becomes interesting, and often electric. Well, perhaps the dramas given in the Globe Theatre in the "Merrie England" section of the Fair could not be labeled serious, but they are at least amusing. Miss Webster has chosen four plays, "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "A Comedy of Errors," "The Taming of the Shrew" and "As You Like It." Because of the exigencies of the occasion she has cut the action of each down to forty-five minutes and in doing so she has retained principally the low comedy portions. Of course there are those who find all Shakespeare's clowns and clowning tedious and fitted only for a museum, but even many of these will laugh heartily at the things Miss Webster has invented for her actors. A few of them, and notably Hiram Sherman, are in themselves born low comedians; the others Miss Webster's skill makes almost seem so. Farewell poetry, the mighty line, the exquisite image, and enter laughter holding both his sides and belabored by a slapstick. Yet even the most serious of us have moments in which we can enjoy outrageous exaggerations, even if the language spoken is not always intelligible—more the fault perhaps of the theatre itself than the performers. Of the individual performances Mr. Sherman's Bully Bottom is the most original, the best Bottom I have seen since Nat Goodwin. But all work hard to please, and most succeed, even in such a wearisome play as "A Comedy of Errors." (At the Globe Theatre.)

Monsignor's Hour

AT LAST NEW YORK has seen a performance of Emmet Lavery's one-act play, "Monsignor's Hour," a play which has been often given in the leading theatres of continental Europe. It fell to the good fortune of the students of Manhattan College to give the metropolis its first view of this charming playlet, which hitherto its inhabitants have known only in the printed version. Let me state at once that it plays as well as it reads. It's the story of a simple Irish-American Monsignor who in the Vatican Galleries meets the Pope *incognito*, and wins the heart of His Holiness. It plumbs no depths nor reaches any heights, but it is exquisitely human and warm with goodness. Moreover it is subtly and poetically written. It is a play, however, which in two parts at least takes playing. Mr. Lavery wrote the part of Monsignor Carey for Whitford Kane, and it is a pity that Mr. Kane never has appeared in it. Yet the young man who played it at the Barbizon-Plaza gave a meritorious impersonation. The Pope was played by John G. Nicholson, and he acquitted himself well in a difficult part. Words of praise also should go to Frank Campanella as Gabriel Pagnani, and to Thomas J. Quigley as Cardinal Perez.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Sentiment, Snobs and Cynics

THOSE SOFTIES who liked James Hilton's "Goodbye, Mr. Chips" will certainly enjoy (through a mist of tears) the delightful and leisurely English movie made from this book. The author could have asked for no more faithful portrayal, for Robert Donat submerges his own personality in a way seldom done in the films and actually is Chips. You see him first as the 83-year-old, much beloved, retired master of Brookfield, in the heart of England. As he recalls his years at this school, hundreds of boys file past him. He is young Mr. Chipping again, arriving in the seventies to teach Latin. The boys rag the new instructor. He is unhappy but takes a firm hold. Except for a touching romance with Katherine (charmingly played by Greer Carson), Chips's love and devotion belong to Brookfield. Katherine brings forth courage and other virtues in the shy teacher, but he is fearful after the turn of the century that his school will lose its grace and dignity. The world and customs change and 1914 brings additional sorrow. Sam Wood has done a fine directorial job in making us aware of the countless rolls that Chips has called, the countless classes he has taught as the years pass and sons grow up and send their sons to this school in which Chips is a tradition.

"Sorority House," a much different picture of school life, merits attention for its simple sincerity and strong denouncement of the snobbish sorority system. Going to college means to Anne Shirley a membership in the international democracy of culture. But disillusionment comes quickly to this girl, whose father had to borrow money to send her to Talbot, when she learns that girls who don't join a sorority are nothing—just nothing. Director John Farrow, pulling no punches in his argument against cliques, lets you experience the suspense, heartaches and disappointments of those first few weeks of school during which many a girl suffers tortures for fear she will not be asked to join. Refreshing note: the charming and restrained girls in "Sorority House" act like college students!

Quite in contrast to these pupils and masters are the big-hearted tough guys in "Only Angels Have Wings." These daredevil fliers are hard, hedonistic, defiant of pain, death and after-life. Howard Hawk's superior direction, the dreary atmosphere of this South American banana port, repeated suspense as men fly in storms, sparse Hemingwayesque dialogue, episodic quality of a story stressing characterization, and the unusually good acting throughout make this picture real in spite of its O. Henry tricks in plot. Cary Grant's performance sets a pace that is followed by the outstanding work of Thomas Mitchell, Sig Rumann and Richard Barthelmess. Jean Arthur and Rita Hayworth are the women in this picture of man's dangerous living and questionable morals. Needless to say, there are no angels in "Only Angels Have Wings."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Day

The American City

Your City, by E. L. Thorndike. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

"THIS BOOK is the result of three years' study of the recorded facts concerning 310 American cities. Its conclusions are outcomes of the treatment of nearly a million items by modern quantitative methods. It is written for all intelligent citizens.

"The conclusions about the quality of life in these cities, the causes of the differences between one city and another, and the ways and means of making all our cities better places for good people to live in are often startling and opposed to popular doctrines; but they follow inevitably from the facts."

So Dr. Thorndike in his preface.

What are the conclusions drawn from these impressive labors? They are: (1) that the quality of life in our cities varies enormously; (2) that the causes of the differences between cities are found primarily in the mental and moral qualities and secondarily in the incomes of their citizens; (3) that the ways and means of making all our cities better places for good people to live in are for them to attract and hold more people with (a) desirable mental and moral qualities and (b) good incomes.

These conclusions may be startling to Dr. Thorndike, but they strike me as rather old hat. They may be opposed to doctrines which are popular around Teachers College, Columbia University, but I seem to recall having heard quite similar "doctrines" voiced (and how!) by a certain distinguished gentleman who occasionally sits down by his fireside and talks to the neighbors.

What about the facts that so inevitably led Dr. Thorndike to his conclusions? Well, they are statistics; a round million of them, we are told. They were gathered from publications of the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Office of Education; and from a variety of non-governmental sources. They were converted into ratios and percentages, tabulated and cross-tabulated, correlated with each other singly and in groups, and some were selected as more significant than others "for the goodness of life of good people in a city." Within this chosen group, a hierarchy of importance was set up and used in summarizing the group into one quintessential figure. The technical name for this statistical distillate is a weighted index. By nature it is primarily, essentially, necessarily, and characteristically the result of judgment. A person of brutal turn of mind might even call it an opinion.

Don't let all this grow horns and a tail on your mental image of Dr. Thorndike. His patience and skill in handling data are entitled to respect. There is nothing sinister or diabolical about his statistical works and pomps. He is quite open about them, and those who read may run. Still, many of the intelligent citizens for whom he wrote this book may not realize that a sociologist or an educational psychologist, even "one of America's leading scientists," may discourse from "recorded facts" and the "outcomes of the treatment of nearly a million items by modern quantitative methods" and still, in effect, do nothing more nor less than give his own opinion. It would be courteous of social scientists popularizing the results of statistical studies for a lay audience to make this matter unmistakably clear.

People who live in United States cities which had 30,000 or more population in 1930 can find in "Your City" the standing of their home town, according to a weighted index which Dr. Thorndike calls "the G score." He uses it to summarize 37 items which, in combination, he considers to be indicative of "goodness of life for good people." Five of the 37 items concern health and count about 16 percent in the G score; 8 concern public provision for education and count about 22 percent; 2 concern public provision for recreation and count about 4 percent; 8 concern such things as infrequency of poverty, infrequency of gainful employment among children 10 to 14, frequency of home ownership, etc., and count about 21 percent; 5 concern automobiles, telephones, radios, gas, and electricity and count about 15 percent; the last 9 items are of rather mixed nature and count about 22 percent. Readers have to infer from the list of 37 items what Dr. Thorndike's definitions of "goodness of life" and "good people" would be, for he gives none.

Those who undertake to use the 10-item city yardstick suggested by Dr. Thorndike for places too small to be in his list should not be surprised if they obtain some amazing scores. The directions regarding the credits to be given in connection with the infant mortality rate (reversed), i.e., the infant survivorship rate, and the number of telephones per 1,000 population each contain a slip. Scores computed according to the formulae printed will run much higher than Dr. Thorndike's comparison scale contemplates.

E. L. SHERMAN.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Pius XII, Pope of Peace, by Joseph F. Dinneen. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. $2.50.

MR. DINNEEN is of the opinion that most of the works concerning the papacy have been written by learned priests who, had they not feared the censure of their bishops, might have revealed a good deal more "behind the scenes" information. He will certainly succeed in offending certain American prelates by intimating that they owe their high offices to the fact that they enjoyed the friendship of influential people; but his imprimatur-defying revelations of Vatican politics should not be a cause for serious scandal, even in the United States.

The author of this first biography of the present pontiff is a Catholic newspaperman who covered the Vatican ten years ago. These qualifications, while quite exemplary, do not inspire the highest confidence. By his own admission, Mr. Dinneen's narrative evolved merely out of his own interest, "the interest of an American reader in a pope who has caught the public imagination because he came to America, appeared in its cities." It is sketchy and superficial; but it does succeed in capturing some of the personality of the new Vicar of Christ.

Eugenio Pacelli has for four decades served the Church zealously, humbly, efficiently. Since his ordination in 1899 he has distinguished himself as a scholar and statesman; but above all else he has been a man of prayer. He collaborated with Cardinal Gasparri in the codification of canon law. He presented Pope Benedict's plea for peace to the Kaiser. Peace in our time, however, will be achieved neither by scholars nor statesmen but by men of prayer—by such men as Eugenio Pacelli, whose first pontifical act was to bestow a blessing, in the name of the Holy Trinity, upon all the children of God who were created for a higher destiny than to slaughter each other in some silly ideological war.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

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Paradise Planters: the Story of Brook Farm, by Katherine Burton. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

IN ITS OWN DAY Brook Farm amused, puzzled, and at times shocked the ordinary folk of America (or at any rate of Boston, which knew it best). But as the fame of many of those who had taken part in the experiment subsequently grew, and as the transcendental movement was recognized as a source of much that was finest in New England's flowering, the experiment was looked on and studied with great seriousness. Then came neglect, and then derision once more, derision reflected from that bestowed by our young critics on nearly everything connected with Puritanism and its aftermath. Finally, in our time, once more we are paying serious attention to the New England reformers, even to so vague a one as Bronson Alcott. It may be noted in passing that only Emerson and Thoreau (with of course Hawthorne, whose affinity with the movement was in reality slight) have retained their fame undimmed, throughout all changes of taste and opinion.

"Paradise Planters" by Katherine Burton gives us a pictorial record of Brook Farm in something the manner of Van Wyck Brooks's life of Emerson; that is, she tells the story so far as possible in the words of the participants. Some of her conversations must be imaginary ones, surely, but many others are from the records, and there is probably no great distortion. The method is weakest in the preliminary chapters, when the experiment was being planned at the home of George Ripley. Here she attempts to define transcendentalism through the scattered remarks of these quaintly humorless Boston worthies, and leaves us almost as bewildered as some of them appeared to have been. But once on the farm, not only did their humor creep forth (as when George Bradford announced, "I can now milk a cow to my satisfaction, but not yet to that of the cow"), but Mrs. Burton's record takes on the glow of an experiment not in communism but in spiritual living, an attempt to simplify life in order to get out of it the maximum of what these ardently religious souls deemed Christian happiness. They failed to make their experiment work in the competitive modern world, and discovered, too, that after a hard day on the farm one seeks a pillow rather than Plato. But their experiment was in the highest sense noble, and no intelligent critic in this troubled era would be so foolish as to laugh at it. Certainly the author of this interesting book does not. WALTER PRICHARD EATON.

Poland: Key to Europe, by Raymond Leslie Buell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S recent guarantee to Poland is the keystone of the new German encirclement program, but when Mr. Buell undertook his penetrating analysis some months ago even then Poland held the key to Europe's future: her success in keeping Germany and Russia apart is not only necessary for her own welfare; it is one of the means whereby fascism or communism may be prevented from dominating Europe. Granting the Poles' willingness to fight if necessary, the success of these people in achieving the task which their geographical location especially has bestowed upon them depends partly on their national solidarity but even more upon the outside world, and especially upon the Western democracies; that the crux of the situation is whether they will stand with Poland rather than the reverse is definitely the conclusion to be reached from an examination of the past twenty years.

The major portion of this extremely well documented work, the only demerit of which is an occasional gratuitous historical analogy, is devoted to an examination of Poland internally. Largely traceable to her great past and to a lesser extent to her Great Man period, the Pilsudski era, are both the divisive and solidifying forces operating within the country: sectional disputes, absence of a national middle class, an intensive nationalism. Though the government of the "Colonels," which succeeded the great marshal, is strengthened by the division of the opposition, and national solidarity is intensified by foreign threats, and the army, it must solve a political problem, economic in its foundation, if the constitutional system of an "authoritarian democracy" is to continue.

In a country predominantly agricultural where the population is rapidly increasing and the national resources are meagre, the peasant problem is of primary concern. To increase the gross wealth of the country, at least in proportion to the increment of numbers, necessitates above all, capital, modification in the system of land tenure, and improved methods of agriculture. With an attendant world depression and consequent tightness of capital, such a country must rely upon itself. The predicament with which it is faced is not encouraging, for the division of estates in the absence of agricultural education further reduces the possibility of securing capital, which in turn lessens the fund for education; in other words, the situation is nothing less than a vicious circle.

To raise Poland by the boot straps as it were, the government has been veering since 1935 toward cooperation with the party of peasant reform, which is leftist, but leftist in a country fundamentally Catholic and individualist. The amnesty extended to Witos, leader of this party, in March, 1939, is a further indication of the direction in which the government is going. That peasant reform is the most efficacious means at hand for obtaining the support of the Ukrainians, who constitute the greatest minority, and are necessary for national solidarity is a further justification for considering this political tendency as more than ephemeral. Though the Ukrainians are "the largest national group in Europe to whom the doctrine of self-determination has not yet been applied," and though they are not in complete religious accord with the Poles, the solution of autonomy within a federalized state is still available. Pilsudski's adherence to the concept of a federative unity among the western Slavs, though it was to a concept predominantly against which the stream of history has been operating for nearly a century, is not yet beyond recall.

The chapters on the colonial agitation, the Jewish question and state capitalism, in which Poland, with the exception of Sweden, most approximates Russia, are so excellently correlated with the entire book that we cannot refrain from hoping that similar studies on the less well understood nations of Europe may be forthcoming.

A. PAUL LEVACK.

The Negro in Brazil, by Arthur Ramos; translated by Richard Pattee. Washington: Associated Publishers, Inc. $2.15.

FOR READERS inclined to study American race relations against the background of interracial adjustment in other lands, this is an interesting and useful little volume. It will also appeal to curious readers who like to learn all they can about all branches of the human family without regard to time or place or race. The author,

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according to the introduction, is a distinguished scholar and member of various learned societies in Brazil. The present volume, a condensed version of a larger and more comprehensive work, was written expressly for translation.

One suspects that the translator has not done as competent a job as the original author. The reader can debit that opinion to reviewer's pique. The text is sprinkled with annoying bits of Portuguese, which the translator says cannot be precisely expressed in English. Well, why not interpret the Portuguese idiom in approximate English? A thought half understandable in English is certainly to be preferred to wholly unintelligible Latin-American. Annoyance approaches exasperation when the translator says, "During the early period of the slave trade the average price of a slave did not exceed 50 milreis." A footnote informs the reader that the *present* value of a milreis is six cents. The reader wants to know the past value of the milreis, the market price of an African when the slave trade was big business. It seems incredible that a man could be hunted in Africa, shipped across the Atlantic, and sold on the hoof in Brazil for $3.00.

Apart from translator's faults, the book leans heavily toward the merit side. It gives readers an opportunity to compare the South and North American brands of slavery both as an accepted and a waning institution. There were striking similarities and equally striking contrasts. The institution seems to have been more violent and bloody in Brazil, but it was abolished by pacific means which left no bitter aftermath comparable to our reconstruction era. During and after slavery Negroes were encouraged, or at least permitted, to contribute to the national culture. They have won distinction in letters, the arts and politics, and participate freely in all departments of the life of the nation.

The author's attitude is strictly objective. He does not attempt to "sell" the Brazilian method of race adjustment. He simply describes it. Apparently, to please the reader who prefers information to propaganda. He hits his mark.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS.

Contemporary World Politics, edited by Francis James Brown, Charles Hodges and Joseph Slabey Roucek. New York: John Wiley and Sons. $5.00.

TO ANYONE who does not want to devote all his hours of reading to a vain effort to understand world politics, we heartily recommend this volume. It is considered by its editors as an introduction to the problem of international relations. Since thirty-four apparently competent authors have made contributions to this excellent symposium, anyone who will read this book will gain something of an understanding of world affairs. It is the type of book which is better for having been written by many authors than it would have been if written by one writer. No person living has the knowledge and sympathy necessary to write understandingly on all the problems facing the frantic people of the various nations. Naturally there are conflicts, such as those between the statements made by the sympathetic spokesman for fascism, and those made by the equally sympathetic spokesman for communism. However, since the drivel of the professional propagandist has been quite well excluded from the volume, the remarks presented are deserving of consideration, and make the reader aware of the complex origin of many present day international tensions.

The various sections of the book consider world conflict as such, the foreign policies of the larger nations,

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regional interests, world organization, the molding of world opinion and possible roads to peace. The editors have prepared helpful introductory remarks for each section, and have supplemented each section with a well prepared summary. Bibliographies are appended to the respective articles, and a general index is made part of the volume. PAUL KINIERY.

Early Catholic Americana, by Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. New York: The Macmillan Company. $10.00.

FATHER PARSONS has performed an excellent service for American historical scholarships by assembling between covers a complete bibliographical listing of 1,119 books by Catholic authors published within the boundaries of the United States between 1729 and 1830. The collection of Catholic Americana in the Riggs Memorial Library at Georgetown University served as a nucleus and some thirty of the principal libraries in the United States assisted Father Parsons by submitting data, corrections and additional titles.

The only previous attempt in this field, the "Bibliographia Catholica Americana," published by the Reverend Joseph Finotti in the '70's of the last century, was a pioneer work to which Father Parsons makes handsome acknowledgment in his preface, but it has long been obsolete as much for its old-fashioned bibliographical method as for its incompleteness. The present work is as complete as is possible in a woefully imperfect world, for, as every bibliographer knows, a work of this kind invariably serves as an incentive to further discovery. All collectors know the "Not in Sabin" of the booksellers' catalogues. In Father Parsons's work, the books are described, with some exceptions, in strict bibliographical form; the height in centimetres of typical copies is given, and the notes appended to many of the items contain valuable information regarding the printers and authors. This supplements a most interesting introductory note on early Catholic publishers and printers. The location of copies is indicated by the symbols adopted for its Union Catalogue by the Library of Congress.

The utility of this book as a mine of possible subjects for investigation by scholars and thesis writers need not be stressed. The meticulous accuracy, pleasing format and careful arrangement of the work reflect great credit on the compiler and his assistants. J. G. E. HOPKINS.

The History of The Times. Volume II. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00.

FEW NEWSPAPERS are so intimately a part of the history of the nineteenth century as the London *Times*. The secrets and fortunes of its editorial policy during the years between 1841 and 1884 are described in this sequel to a volume which, some years ago, proved to be what students of the journalistic past were waiting for. It is difficult to give to such editorial personages as John Delane and Thomas Chenery the stature they undoubtedly possessed in the eyes of their contemporaries. But the authors have succeeded in giving color and life to the stirring times through which they lived—times of recurrent martial and revolutionary crisis in Europe and America. The Crimean War, the Civil War and the War of 1870 were events which deeply affected the course of British government and thought. Extraordinary opportunities to mould public opinion were afforded a paper which was then unrivaled for the eye-witness flavor of its foreign correspondence and the access of its editors to official sources of information in England. American readers will naturally be interested in the response of the *Times* to the Confederate bid for independence. The editors were antipathetic to everything they associated with the word "Yankee," but none the less eager for the preservation of British neutrality.

While drama of this sort is naturally the primary concern of the book, there are absorbing pages on the progress of politics and social change in England and a good measure of information on such important if less sensational aspects of journalism as book-reviewing and obituary writing. These manifold concerns made the great newspaper of that period an institution upon which the modern journalist can only glance with envy, however conscious he may be of the technical advantages now at the disposal of the press. The editor of those days was truly monarch of his realm. He judged men by what they knew; his stock-in-trade was the extensiveness of his personal contacts. This many anecdotes in the book reveal. Perhaps the best of them tells of the "scoop" on the Congress of Berlin in 1878, engineered by that remarkable correspondent, Henri Stephan de Blowitz. He secured a copy of the treaty before it was actually signed, and smuggled it out of Germany and into the Brussels telegraph office in time to make the paper he served as up-to-the-minute as any modern radio reporter.

Journalism is sometimes exciting, occasionally valuable, and always hard work. It seems to me that the authors of the "History" have borne that in mind.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

Cross and Swastika, by Arthur Frey, with an introduction by Professor Karl Barth. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

"FRANKLY, the trouble with the Roman Catholic Church in Germany is that it certainly has a command on all sides and in all directions of Church doctrine, but not of confessing congregations." So Dr. Frey on p. 222 of his book. We don't contest his right to be solely concerned about the Protestant Church in Germany, and we are glad to learn what a wonderful fight has been put up by that small group of staunch Christians like Pastor Niemoeller. But in the face of the subtle agnosticism of dialectic theology and its pessimism, we wonder why the author disregards the glorious fight of German Catholics and the truly Christian spirit of "Mit Brennender Sorge" and the Fulda Pastoral letters which should be a cause of joy to him. Instead of this, we find only very cool and even disparaging remarks about his "separated" brethren, the Roman Catholics. The book is an interesting example of "dialectic" mentality and its mannerism in style. Karl Barth's introduction is a masterpiece and worthy of that great reformer of his own church and fearless leader against not only theoretical paganism, but also its bloody and cruel reality in history since 1933. The factual chapters give interesting sidelights on the intellectual and spiritual struggle of a church which has no longer schools, hospitals and monasteries to lose, but fights in her last trenches. H. A. REINHOLD.

No Ease in Zion, by T. R. Feiwel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

THIS complex and badly organized book is nevertheless remarkable by the honest manner in which its Jewish author displays the difficulties of the Zionist movement. Twenty years of post-war activity have not been

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sufficient to give Palestine a Jewish majority and to save Jewish immigration from being blocked by the quickly developed Arabian nationalism. In spite of the vigorous energy of the colonists, Palestine has not become their desired *Erez Israel,* the Jewish national state of which the Zionists were dreaming. The author's solution is that the Zionists should face the facts before it is too late and accept the reality that Palestine is a basically Arabian country into which further immigration can only be obtained by a federal status and through real cooperation between Jews and Arabs in political issues and economic problems. C. O. C.

The Lives of the Saints, by Alban Butler. Volume XII, December. Revised edition by Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Donald Attwater. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. $2.25.

A Dictionary of Saints, by Donald Attwater. Being a complete index to the revised edition of Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. $2.75.

THESE TWO VOLUMES complete the important work of Father Thurston and Donald Attwater in revising Butler into the contemporary idiom. The December volume includes a supplement, "rectifying some accidental omissions." Also, in an appendix, appear a memoir and appreciation of Alban Butler and his great eighteenth-century work, and in another "a brief historical account of the processes of beatification and canonisation." Like the earlier volumes, this takes into full account modern critical research by the hagiographers while always displaying what Father Thurston found in the original Butler: "The entire honesty of Butler and his great personal devotion to the Saints." Donald Attwater's "Dictionary" is an alphabetical Martyrology, indexing the twelve volumes and furnishing in itself excellent thumbnail sketches of the great host more fully treated in the monthly volumes. P. B.

More About Books

AFTER a period of silence (we were catching up on our reading) we come back to call attention to three books—of which two are frankly autobiographical and the third is autobiography thinly disguised as fiction. This last has been published some months, and perhaps it would have been better to have given it a regular review as a novel at the time of its publication, but certain contrasts and comparisons with another more recently published work seemed to deserve other treatment. This fictionalized account of youth and adolescence in a small mid-western town a few decades ago is Don Marquis's "Sons of the Puritans" (Doubleday, $2.50). Here is a truly extraordinary account of what life was like several decades ago on the prairies, and it is in many ways a rather sad business. Main Street does not seem to have been by any means a post-war creation. It is needless, especially for lovers of Don Marquis, to report that the book is well and vividly and tenderly written. One might devote a full-length literary essay to the works of the creator of Archie and Mehitabel, and one would not have labored in vain. But there is another aspect to this posthumous novel, and that is its description of the effect of religion on the lives of the ordinary Americans concerned.

Let it be said at once that there were only Protestant churches—two of them—in this little town, and one hesi-

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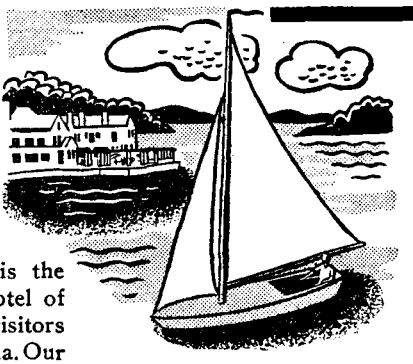

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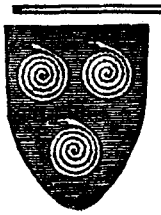

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tates to say anything which might give offense on this subject. Yet the social effect of religion is a great matter in any civilization or culture, and it demands that reticence be put aside. The hero of "Sons of the Puritans" is himself a preacher's son, and he lives with an aunt who is a pillar of the church, so his contact with the organized religious forces of his community is perhaps more intimate than that of many of the other young people. Yet the book indicates clearly enough that this contact existed for almost everyone. And the contact is peculiar indeed. It is not depicted without charity; there is no hint that either of the town's pastors were Elmer Gantrys. But there is a strong expression of the idea that religion was used as an excuse for some of the baser manifestations of the human soul. Gossip, uncharity, hatred, malice were all known to be bad things in themselves, but they were excused when they were practiced in the name or interest of one of the churches.

Now Don Marquis has always written in terms of symbols rather than in terms of life; one could say that his picture merely represents what *he,* as an individual, saw in organized religion, and does not at all take into account its effect upon others of a different temperament. Yet that does not dispose of the whole matter. For his own open realization that religion was not all it was supposed to be came from the failure of a minister and of all the Sunday school teachers to answer a simple and straightforward theological question. They not only could not answer it—in any way at all—they were not disturbed at their inability. The question that raises itself compellingly is whether this whole business is not an indictment of the neglect of theology which so rapidly engulfed the evangelical Protestant sects after the controversies of the early eighteen-hundreds were over. President Hutchins bewails the absence in our university life of a hierarchical attitude toward the sciences, the tendency to treat each department of knowledge and thought as being co-equal with any other department. He particularly bewails the fact that the Queen of the Sciences, theology, has departed our university life and cannot return without an about-face in our public attitude toward religion. In some Catholic circles it has been suggested that we, too, have neglected the primary science. Indeed ignorance of theology is a general American trait by no means limited to Protestant or unbelieving citizens. Has not Don Marquis, quite inadvertently perhaps, cast a strong light on this question in his account of his own religious experience?

Another more explicit autobiography deals with the same subject, which shows that this is not the universal evil. "All in the Day's Work" (Macmillan, $3.50) is Ida M. Tarbell's account of her more than four score years of ever-active life. Miss Tarbell likewise grew up (a trifle earlier, it is true) in a completely evangelical American milieu, this time in northwestern Pennsylvania —the new oil regions. Here again one is tempted to write a whole essay, this time sociological, on a life's work, and here again the effort would not be in vain. For Miss Tarbell is certainly one of the grand old women of our day. I have always thought that her history of the Standard Oil Company is the classic specimen of what such a study should be. It is fearless both ways: it does not for a second hesitate to say what it thinks about dubious or downright dishonest business practices; at the same time—in this, perhaps it is even more courageous— it does not hesitate to give the octopus its due credit.

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The result was something which pleased "no one"—except the "great" inarticulate public and a few of the more vocal men and women who were capable or willing to be judicious in a passionate matter. It is hard for us to realize quite how high passion rose over Standard Oil. Hundreds if not thousands of men had been ruined by that enterprise; labor had no use for it. Churches and educational institutions considered whether they should accept Rockefeller gifts of, as it was generally styled, "tainted money." In the midst of this condemnation, Miss Tarbell would and could be fair.

But what concerns me at this moment is her very interesting attitude toward religion. All the way through her autobiography we find her quite naturally speaking of prayer. "When I was fourteen I was praying God on my knees to keep me from marriage." (A prayer, by the way, that was granted.) . . . At the very end of her book she says: "Perhaps, I tell myself, I may from an armchair find better answers than I have yet found to those questions that set me at my day's work, the still unanswered questions of the most fruitful life for women in civilization, the true nature of revolutions, even the mystery of God." More than any book I have recently read, "All in the Day's Work" strikes me as the fine flower of American Protestant life. Its theological questioning is satisfied by a profession of mystery and by a childlike confidence in the goodness of God; its code of morality is one of simple honesty, courtesy and kindliness. From an abstract point of view and as something to be criticized rigorously and philosophically, it leaves much to be desired. But when it works, when it really activates a human person, the result is good and, indeed, Christian. One fears, however, that this happy result is possible only in rare cases, in people who have that strange thing we call the "New England" character (though luckily it is limited to no geographical area) and that the more common result is the indifferentism of a Don Marquis or the scorn of a Sinclair Lewis.

Another work of reminiscence needs mention lest it escape in the shuffle. It is "Survival," by D. Fedotoff White (University of Pennsylvania Press, $3.00). One cannot recommend the book too highly—to those who have any interest in the Russian Revolution. Here is no pretense at gathering together the threads to make a connected history. In fact there are practically no opinions of a non-experiential sort given in the book, and certainly a very minimum of judgments of any kind. The author, who was a Russian naval officer under the old régime, was not unfriendly to the revolution in its early stages. Only the truculence and violence and inhumanity of Bolshevism turned him thoroughly "white" and led him to fight with Kolchak in Siberia. As one reads one feels that here is something very close to what the normal intelligent—and un-class-conscious—Russian felt as the turmoil went on and as the Bolsheviks gradually consolidated their rule. Somehow the tale of imprisonment at the hands of the secret police, of constantly changing and irresponsible jurisdictions, of executions and disease, is not so much horrible as pathetic, and incredibly sordid. One cannot help remembering Walther Rathenau's prophecy of what the collectivist future was going to be like, and how that prophecy was justified before the event in Russia; after the event, even now, in Germany. Mr. White's book deserves reading and is very readable. It does not seem as yet to have attracted as much public attention as it merits; may this unhappy situation change! THE SAMPLER.

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The Inner Forum

DURING the summer months there is a great variety of Catholic educational activity in various parts of this country. A number of teachers and others will be attending summer sessions of Catholic colleges and universities. Then there are the religious vacation schools where priests, seminarians, religious and other teachers instruct children from areas where they are deprived of adequate instruction in Christian doctrine throughout the year. In recent years there has been a considerable increase in schools of social action designed to promote the application of the principles enunciated in the social encyclicals.

Typical of these schools is the Summer School of Catholic Action to be held at Denver, Colo., June 12 to 17. In addition to regular lectures on Catholic Action the following electives will be offered: high school student democracy, literature, mental prayer, public worship, vocational guidance and parliamentary law. Discussions groups will include consumers' cooperatives, group recreation, economics, political science, religion, the Mystical Body of Christ and American Life.

The Summer School of Catholic Action also plans similar sessions in other American cities. From July 24 to 29 it will conduct courses of this kind at Our Lady of the Lake College at San Antonio, Texas. August 12 to 19 it will be at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C.; at Fordham University in New York, August 21 to 26; at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago, August 28 to September 2.

In several dioceses and archdioceses there will be Summer Schools of Social Action for the clergy again this year. At Pittsburgh, Pa., for instance, there will be a four-week course during July. Monsignor John A. Ryan of the Catholic University and Father Carl A. Hensler of Pittsburgh will lecture on the moral aspects of the question July 3 to 7. Monsignor Francis J. Haas of Catholic University and Father Joseph L. Lonergan of Clairton, Pa., will conduct the courses on organization the second week. Bishop Lucey of Amarillo, Texas, and Father Michael B. Fialko of Unity, Pa., will take up the legislative phases of the question July 17 to 21. Reverend Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J., of St. Louis University, and Reverend James A. W. Reeves, president of Seton Hill College, will discuss communism the final week.

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